

Africa Digest

MARCH-APRIL 1957

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AFRICA



DIGEST

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SOMETHING NEW IS BORN IN AFRICA

THE emergence of Ghana as an independent African State will have many important repercussions in Africa and amongst colonial peoples generally.

It is likely to have far-reaching effects on French colonial policy which has always been directed hitherto towards the integration of her African territories into the French Union. This aim of policy is being increasingly repudiated by Africans. Already the creation of Ghana and the fulfilment of Britain's mandate in Togoland, by its participation in Ghana's self-government and independence, has brought about a reversal of French policy towards French Togoland and its constitution as a republic. The demand for self-government independently of the French Parliament has been given impetus first by the events in North Africa and now by the creation of the State of Ghana.

Elsewhere in Africa a great surge of new confidence as well as new thinking has been set in motion by the emergence of this new African State and by the joyful celebrations, so free from any manifestations of racial intolerance, which have accompanied it.

The celebrations themselves, spectacular as they have been as demonstrations of African vitality and good humour, are less important than the significant fact that Africans have demonstrated their ability to pursue their legitimate ambitions by peaceful and constitutional means when the constitutional channels are opened to them. To many thinking Africans a new perspective is opening up which does not seem to confine them to the choice between Imperialism, with its oppression of colonial peoples, and Communism, which appears so much less human and attractive when it holds power over people, as in Hungary, than when it is one of the forces in opposition to Imperialism in Colonial territories.

The pride and joy which Africans have shown in the competence of their leaders and in the superbly organized parades and ceremonies, which have so much impressed the delegates of more than sixty states, has a ring of triumph in it, as though it were known that this is an effectual answer to all those who have sought for so long to suppress the aspirations of Africans in other parts of Africa.

While everyone realizes that Ghana has yet to prove itself to Africa and the world, its history up to this week's great climax has undermined the hollow argument of *apartheid*; that a people must go through hundreds of years of tutelage to a "superior race", and undergo all the humiliations and restraints of legal colour barriers in

every department of life before it can govern itself. It is impossible not to draw some contrast between the history of British relations with South Africa today and her relations with the Gold Coast from the days of early exploration and the slave trade, down to the proceedings this week in the Legislative Assembly, the High Court, and the University of Achimota. These proceedings now constitute a challenge to those who have assumed to themselves the role of leaders of civilization in Africa, and on this plea seek to stop up all the channels of constitutional reform and advancement for all but their own race.

The Afrikaner people have the urgent responsibility to themselves and to Africa of rethinking their whole *apartheid* theory and policy. For here, in these proceedings, there was no demonstration of arrogant racialism. But a goal was set towards a civilization which can embrace humanity, and draw upon the creative abilities, skills, intelligence and culture of all people in the service of their country as a whole.

How far or how fast Ghana will be able to realize its goal remains to be seen. But an exciting drama has begun. An important factor in determining its success is that it has begun with the abundant energy and good humour of the African people, harnessed by an enthusiasm for a cause which they know to be their own as well as that of humanity at large. Let those who would suppress these qualities in Africa think again before the sorrow and damage they have caused already becomes irretrievable and leads others as well as themselves towards a reign of blood and tears.

Africa and the world may well pray for a new leadership amongst the Afrikaner people and for new thinking amongst all those who have allowed themselves to become victims of the counsels of despair or cynicism bidding them wait some inevitable doom in South Africa.

An African State has come into being which recognizes no colour barriers; where all are free to serve their country and enjoy its wealth and culture; and where the people are determined to build up an economic, social and political system which will be African and independent, though not in a narrowly nationalist sense which, in seeking to deprive others, deprives most of all its own people of the integrity and grace that belongs to them as members of the human family.

MICHAEL SCOTT

CENTRAL AFRICA

The Federation

Death of Lord Llewellyn

LORD LLEWELLYN, the first Governor-General of the Federation, died on January 24, 1957, at the age of 63. Sir Robert Tredgold, the Chief Justice, acted as Governor-General until Sir William Murphy, acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia, was appointed as acting Governor-General of the Federation. Sir Robert Tredgold requested this arrangement so that he might be free to continue as chairman of the Southern Rhodesia franchise commission. (*The Times*, February 11, 1957.)

Reaction to Sir Roy Welensky's Speech

The speech¹ made by Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, in which he complained of the difficulty of establishing a common loyalty to the Federation among Africans in the Northern States, was criticized by the Rev. A. B. Doig, Federal M.P. for African interests in Nyasaland, who said: "One wonders how he expects to persuade the British Government to surrender power readily when he accuses them of incompetence in Colonial affairs", and Mr. W. M. Chirwa, African Federal M.P. for Nyasaland, who said: "The whole purpose of Sir Roy's speech was to put a wedge between the territorial governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the one hand and the African people of these territories." (*Nyasaland Times*, January 8, 1957.)

In Southern Rhodesia Mr. F. J. D. Lacey writing to the *Rhodesia Herald* (January 10, 1957) said: "The Federal Prime Minister's speech will have been welcomed by segregationists on both sides of the colour line. The white nationalists will rejoice in the typical 'tough-emotion-packed' approach to the problem of co-operation between black and white, and the black nationalists will undoubtedly use the contents of that speech to justify to the African masses the continuation of their crusade of non-co-operation. . . ."

"During the past three and a half years the Federal Government too has had a unique opportunity to give to the Territorial Governments (particularly that of Southern Rhodesia) a positive lead in the field of race relations. That opportunity has been wasted and instead the Federal Government has in the main adopted the traditional colour policy of Southern Rhodesia—a policy which makes quite impossible the implementation of partnership, that essential prerequisite to any contemplated change in status."

The Inter-racial Association of Southern Rhodesia said that it appeared that Sir Roy regarded himself in the capacity of Prime Minister "as a representative of the White section of the population rather than the people as a whole. He refers to the Europeans as 'we' and the Africans as 'they' and generalizes about both. For example, he says: 'The African speaks and complains . . . We on the other hand are charged with getting on with the economic job . . . ' and 'We, the Europeans, are striving to preserve the very standards which Britain sets herself'. . . ." It further appeared that Sir Roy had either never considered, or had abandoned, any possibility of establishing a common loyalty which would embrace those who were now followers of the African National Congress movement . . . "To the innumerable Africans who are only too anxious to support Federation, if only it can be done with self-respect, he leaves no option but to join the anti-Federation camp. . . ."

¹Digest IV, 4.

Mr. Charles Mzingeli, general secretary of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Union, an African workers' organization in Southern Rhodesia, said that the repeal of Southern Rhodesia's present African policy would go a long way towards gaining the confidence of the British Government and the Africans in the Federation.

He said: "It has been a common practice with politicians in this country to advance their prestige by promising the European electorate 'white supremacy', so Sir Roy pretends to be blind on the question of the colour bar and fails to see why the Gold Coast has, and is, so rapidly developing at a faster pace than the Federation." (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 8, 1957.)

The Capricorn Africa Society said it was unrealistic for Sir Roy to admit that 96 per cent of the population in the Federation had no confidence in the Government, or in the present form of government, and at the same time to claim immediate higher status for the Federal Government . . . The Federal Prime Minister is prevented from leading the Federation towards higher status because he has not got the confidence of the African people.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (January 9) said the Prime Minister's words were not as diplomatically chosen as they might have been. "Sir Roy is a man who has got where he is by fighting all the way. Now that he has got to the top he may have to learn that the bludgeon is not necessarily the only weapon available—particularly if the art of statesmanship is to be practised." It went on to condemn African Nationalist leaders who have publicly declared their intention of doing all in their power to break up and destroy the Federation.

Sir Roy Welensky replied to his critics in a speech to the Federal Party at Gwelo. It was significant, he said, that none of his critics had denied his assertion that African leaders in the Northern Territories did not at present support the policy of partnership. What was more, no African leader had in the past weeks come forward to say he believed in partnership and would work for it. . . .

Sir Roy went on "categorically to deny" charges that he paid only lip service to partnership, and "dismissed with contempt" the suggestion that he had given comfort to the extremists of both sides. "What I have attempted to do is to bring home to the Government of the United Kingdom and to the people of the Federation certain hard facts which many are unwilling, for various reasons, to face up to."

"How can we make progress if a section which claims to speak for the African people of the two Northern Territories is doing everything it can to persuade the African peoples that they have a choice between African paramountcy and partnership? . . ."

"It is time we took a stand—the stand which I am now taking—on the issue of whether civilization is to remain here. That is, whether you and I, as Europeans, are to remain, and whether all we set store by is to remain; and whether on that basis this Federation is to go forward to become a great country, in which all races can prosper in partnership." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 9, 1957.)

Claim for Relationship to be Reviewed

Sir Roy Welensky, speaking at Bulawayo, said it was his firm conclusion that the time was right for the relationship between the Federation and the United Kingdom to be reviewed. "Specifically what I have in mind is that it is wrong in practice for two of the component territories of the Federation, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to be considered only as integral parts of the Colonial Empire," he said. They are, of course, parts of the Colonial Empire; but they are not only that, they are more. They have in addition a special relationship to the Federation. Some of the African leaders maintain that Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are not part of the

Colonial Empire as such, but have a special place within the Colonial Empire. They maintain that as British Protected persons the majority of Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have special rights and I agree with this as a statement of fact. But they have, in addition, a special position within the Federation. The logical conclusion is this—and it takes into account the fact that the Colonial Office policy and the policy of the Commonwealth Relations Office are in fact one policy, not two policies, and that that policy is the policy of Her Majesty's Government—that in almost every sector of the Federal set-up special conditions prevail. How then can a philosophy or the practice of say Singapore or Jamaica, British Somaliland or Mauritius, necessarily apply here? And equally valid, I believe, is the argument that an Office designed to serve South Africa and Canada and Australia is not necessarily expert in its dealings with this country.

"Again, it is commonly believed by many Africans that control by the Colonial Office leads always and inevitably to African self-government. They look to other Colonial territories in Africa and this belief is thereby strengthened in their minds. This is not the case here in the Federation, nor can it ever be. We have a large and permanent white population and we have brought here to stay the standards of social behaviour and political practice which are accepted in the countries from which our white population originated. This is a multi-racial society and it will remain multi-racial. This is a civilized society and it will remain civilized; and above all this is an experiment in statecraft which is something new and which is unique. I believe that the uniqueness of the concept of Federation must be recognized in the practical instrument of our relationship with the United Kingdom." (*Federation Newsletter*, March 4, 1957.)

Mr. Lennox-Boyd's Visit

Speaking in Salisbury, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressed the hope that the loyalty and allegiance of Africans in the Federation would be transferred from the British to the Federal Government. He went on to say that "when people had done this of their own free will" his task (as Colonial Secretary) of representing the British Government would come to an end. The *Manchester Guardian* (January 16, 1957), added: "The word 'when' can be read as meaning 'not until'; the Colonial Office will not disinterest itself in Central Africa until Africans of their own free will look to Salisbury rather than to Westminster."

In Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Lennox-Boyd emphasized: "Amalgamation is not even a political starter." The *Central African Post* (January 7, 1957) said that this could mean that after the granting of Dominion Status, the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council would only have one matter of importance to deal with—African Affairs—in such a situation parity of representation might be "by no means too much".

Paramount Chief Mwanawina of Barotseland said: "We as a nation earnestly desire and request that in the event of the Federation acquiring dominion status, Barotseland should be preserved and remain as a protectorate nation under Her Majesty's Government in accordance with the treaty alliance and agreements made with the British Government through the British South Africa Company concession of 1900." In reply the Colonial Secretary said: "No change in the present arrangements would be made except after the fullest consultation with you and your people. . . ."

"There may be, who knows, greater mineral wealth under the Barotse soil. . . . As you want the development of education and roads you would be wise to allow the prospecting companies to see if there is mineral wealth in Barotseland. If that wealth is here it

would be wise that it should be uncovered, but only under wise control and with the fullest consultation with yourself and your people. We live all of us in a changing world." (*Central African Post*, January 7, 1957.)

Bemba Paramount Chief Chitimukulu said of Federation: "We have regarded the move (of Federation) and will continue to regard it as a grave betrayal of our existence as a free people of the Great Queen."

Mr. H. Nkumbula, the president of the African National Congress, described Federation as "a deliberate sabotage of the Africans' hopes for self-government and independence within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Whatever economic reasons may be given as the case for Federation, it has now become abundantly clear in the minds of all Africans and liberal Europeans here and abroad that Federation was created to place both economic and political power in the hands of the European minorities."

"Does the British Government know that the Africans of Northern Rhodesia are now even more opposed to the Federal set-up than they have ever been before and that they are asking the British Government to allow Northern Rhodesia to secede at the time of review?" (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 22, 1957.)

In a farewell broadcast to Africans from Lusaka Mr. Lennox-Boyd said: "If Europeans can be reassured by you that they need have no fear and that you intend to live and work with them for the good of all, I am certain that you will find that your own fears also are without foundation. . . ."

"Federation has come to stay. There can be no question of breaking it up. . . ."

"The British Government has certain special responsibilities for the inhabitants, both black and white, of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. At the time when Federation was introduced the British Government made certain solemn promises, particularly to the Africans. Those special responsibilities are fully recognized by the British Government and will be fully discharged and the promises which were made will be fully kept. . . ."

He said Federation was not a handicap of constitutional evolution of the constituent parts of the Federation. "Very much the reverse," he added. "Each part of the Federation can go forward constitutionally, and indeed is in a stronger position to do so because of the extra strength that Federation brought. I have no doubt this path will be followed in Northern Rhodesia."

Summing up, the *Rhodesia Herald* (January 22, 1957) said: "The background to the Colonial Secretary's visit is this: between now and 1960 proposals will be drafted for amendments to the constitutions of the Federation (which is not his direct concern but for which, as a member of Britain's Cabinet, he will have to bear a collective responsibility) and of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—which are his responsibility. In addition, the Federal Government is busy with proposals for citizenship and franchise legislation which inevitably will affect the two northern Territories as much as the rest of the Federation. It is seeking, too, within the limits imposed by the existing Federal Constitution, a higher status for the Federation within the Commonwealth. . . ."

"European leaders have made it absolutely clear to him that, if the British Government is serious in its support of the Federation, it must do two things: it must make plain to African nationalists that their demands for the break-up of the Federation will never be entertained—thereby ensuring the European of security for himself and his heirs; and it must make equally plain its support for the policy of partnership—its determination that black shall not dominate white, and vice versa."

On his return, the Colonial Secretary, in a written reply to a Parliamentary question asked by Mr. J. Johnson (Labour) said: "I made it clear that Her Majesty's Government fully shared the view recently expressed by Lord Malvern and by Sir Roy Welensky that the right form of Government for Central Africa is a federal and not a unitary form of Government. . . .

"I made it clear that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom had no desire, purely for reasons of prestige or anything of that kind, to retain their present responsibilities for the Northern Territories longer than was necessary and that I hoped the Africans in each of the Northern Territories would increasingly look to the Federation and to their own territorial capitals with the same confidence with which they looked to Whitehall and Westminster. I added, however, that Her Majesty's Government could not abandon their ultimate responsibility until they were satisfied that a transfer of loyalties of this kind had been made."

Partition of the Federation

The Rt. Hon. John Dugdale, M.P., Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, in the Labour Government of 1950-51, put forward a plan for the partition of the Federation. "The overwhelming proportion of the white population of the two Northern Territories is situated in the western part of Northern Rhodesia. It should be possible to draw a line at the narrowest point of Northern Rhodesia stretching from the Belgian Congo to Portuguese East Africa, and to say that all the territory to the west of this line should be incorporated in Southern Rhodesia, while all that to the east and north-east should form one colony which should be federated with Tanganyika. . . .

"Whatever frontiers are fixed there are bound to be people 'on the wrong side' of them, but the plan I am proposing leaves the great majority of the white population outside the Northern Territories, and many of those who find themselves east of the new frontier would be able, if they wanted, to emigrate to the west and south-west, where economic development is taking place at a rapid rate. . . .

"The problem of those Africans in Northern Rhodesia who live west of the proposed new frontier is a far more difficult one. At present they are protected, though often somewhat ineffectively, by the Colonial Office. This protection would be withdrawn from them if the territory in which they live were incorporated in Southern Rhodesia. During recent years, however, it seems to have become more and more difficult for the Colonial Office to afford them the protection that they expect."

In answer to the criticism that the proposed north-eastern territory would be so poor as to be non-viable Mr. Dugdale said: "I would say that so far as the Africans are concerned, and they after all are the overwhelming part of the population, the majority of them would far rather have a poor country in which they were free than a rich country in which they were subjected to a colour bar and were refused an opportunity of taking part in the government. . . .

"Although it would certainly be necessary during the first years of the new Nyasaland-Northern Rhodesia-Tanganyika Federation for many men to go and work outside the territories, this need not always be so, and there is every likelihood of greatly increased numbers being absorbed in work within their own frontier." (*New Commonwealth*, January 21, 1957.)

University Enrolment

The first students at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland number 74—43 men and 31 women—including seven African men, one African woman, and one Indian woman. There are three hostels at the university—one for European men, one for

European women, and one for African men. The African woman will at first live in the house of a member of the university staff and the Indian woman will live off the Campus in Salisbury. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 28, 1957.)

Professor H. J. Rousseau, Professor of Education, said: "In our first year 40 per cent of our students will be reasonably mature graduates from seven South African, one Irish and eight British university institutions. These are the 29 Education students, who represent a wide range of interest and experience." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 2, 1957.)

Kariba Africans to Move

The Southern Rhodesian Government announced that during 1957 an additional 2,000 families would be moved from the Kariba lake area; this would leave only 600 families to be moved during 1958 from the south side of the river. In other parts of Southern Rhodesia about 2,000 other African families will be moved during 1957 from European areas and Crown Land into Native Reserves or Special Native Areas. (*Federation Newsletter*, March 9, 1957.)

A Special Correspondent in the *Golden City Post* (February 17, 1957) pointed out that a lot can depend on what side of the river you live if you are an African. He explained that whereas the 28,000 Northern Rhodesian Africans who are to the north of the Zambesi are given £10 each—"a small fortune"—for the loss, hardship and inconvenience suffered by the move, the 22,000 in Southern Rhodesia, south of the river, will get no such compensation, but only exemption of tax for two years.¹ This was because of the Land Apportionment Act in Southern Rhodesia, under which 71,000 Africans have already been moved and another 42,000 are due to be moved from European areas. Despite the fact that the Batonga have been living on the banks of the Zambesi for about 800 years, and no Europeans, apart from one or two officials, have ever lived there, their land on the south bank of the river was designated as a "European area". The Batonga on the north side are in a "Native" area and therefore get compensation from the Northern Rhodesian Government. If Southern Rhodesia gave compensation, they would have to do likewise for all the other Africans who have been or will be moved.

The Special Correspondent added that it seemed likely that the Southern Batonga, who have had no roads, no schools, no shops, no clinics and one visit a year from a Government medical officer, would gain a lot from being moved. They would be "transported from bare subsistence into a money economy and get all the social services the Government normally supplies to Africans".

Northern Rhodesia

Colour Bar Campaign*

ON the day that the Race Relations and Conciliation Ordinance* was gazetted, the African National Congress re-started its campaign to break the colour bar by sending groups of Africans to hotels, cafés and restaurants in Lusaka. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 14 and 15, 1957.)

One manager said he was "disgusted" over the attitude of the Government and the Press in this, the latest campaign of Congress to try and break the colour bar. He said he thought the Press and Government should ask Mr. Harry Nykumbula to "desist" in the

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

²DIGEST I, 9 and 14.

³DIGEST IV, 4.

present campaign, or that Government should take a more positive action in the matter. "We opened this business for Europeans. If Europeans don't want to sit next to Africans and eat with them, then they have a damned right not to have Africans next to them," he said. (*Central African Post*, January 16, 1957.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (January 18, 1957) pointed out that according to the report of the committee on racial discrimination¹ "It would appear that most hotel keepers are not aware of the obligation imposed on them by the common law to receive and lodge in their hotels all comers who are bona-fide travellers in a condition fit to be received, and who are able to pay for the accommodation provided." The report also stated: "While we see no reason why café and milk-bar owners should not exercise their right to reserve admission on reasonable grounds, we do not consider colour alone to be reasonable grounds for excluding anyone."

The Northern Rhodesia Hotels Association declared that all its hotels were non-racial. There was a social and economic bar, but no colour bar. "Non-Europeans who are properly dressed, know how to behave, who can afford to pay the bill and want to use an hotel for legitimate purposes and not for political ends, will be normally accepted, but the right of admission is reserved to the hotelier." (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 24, 1957.)

The provincial secretary of Congress in the Central Province asked for the practice of colour discrimination in hotels and cafés, bars and restaurants to be made a punishable offence. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 16, 1957.)

The *Central African Post* (January 14, 1957) urged proprietors to serve those Africans who were taking part in "the latest try-on". Whether Congress are out for trouble or whether they are trying to genuinely establish which shops will serve Africans is a dubious point. But it is just possible that their concern is genuine and that they have no wish to make trouble once the principle has been established. . . .

Some café proprietors are complaining that they are losing European trade by serving Africans. We would urge Europeans to be particularly tolerant whilst this "campaign" is under way. If the thing gets out of hand to the point where Africans are deliberately looking for trouble in such places then it will be time for action to be taken, but for the present the best way to treat this is with reason and diplomacy.

Dr. Alexander Scott, Federal M.P. for Lusaka, opened the first multi-racial cinema. He said that this move by its Indian proprietors had required courage, and that it could be a success. (*Central African Post*, January 14, 1957.)

Congress Secretary Calls for Non-Co-operation

A special circular signed by Mr. K. D. Kaunda, secretary-general of the African National Congress, called upon its members "not to co-operate with anyone or anything which is detrimental to African interests". It told Africans not to use force, but to unite against colour discrimination, low wages, lack of advancement in industry and the civil service and the lack of educational facilities. The circular said "Let us not hate the white man as he hates us because we are black. Let us always tell him that it is not his colour that we hate but his bad way of handling Africans."

At a meeting of about 300 Africans at Kabushi Mr. J. K. Chirunga, a district secretary of Congress, said the Federation was rapidly becoming a police State "like Malan's Government". "There are police all over," he said; "right here someone in the audience is taking

notes—that is the S.B." (Security Branch). (*Rhodesia Herald* February 11, 1957.)

Two Electoral Rolls Proposed

Mr. H. Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress, put forward franchise proposals with two rolls, one with the same qualifications as at present and another with much lower qualifications. The two rolls would not be racial rolls as Africans with the necessary qualifications would be able to register on the higher roll and Europeans whose qualifications did not allow them to register on the higher roll could register on the lower roll.

The possibility of Africans swamping Europeans by virtue of their numbers on the lower roll would be averted, he said, by limiting the number of seats available to the lower roll voters. When a sufficient number of Africans had become registered on the higher roll, the lower roll could fall away. British protected persons would not be precluded from voting. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 23, 1957.)

Commenting on a similar proposal made for the Federal franchise, Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie of Manchester University said: "It will have the effect of maintaining for a long time to come the division of the Federal Assembly into two parts, chosen by separate rolls of voters. Unless the franchise on both rolls is wide, these will be in form common rolls, in popular belief communal rolls, because one roll will be dominated by European, the other by African votes, and the former will elect far more members than the latter. This is not a situation which is likely to lead to a sentiment among Africans that the Salisbury Assembly is even in a limited sense their own Assembly. It will be an Assembly to which they come to obstruct and not to govern."

The two-roll system may therefore prove dangerous in the end, but it would certainly represent in principle an advance beyond the present system, if combined with the proposed citizenship law, because it would bring all the inhabitants of Central Africa, at least potentially "within the pale of the Constitution" as Gladstone once said of the working-classes in England. More pragmatically, it represents perhaps the maximum proposal which would not be blocked by the opposition of at least twelve European members of the present Assembly; and a weighted franchise is no doubt better than no franchise at all. But the reason why it would not be blocked is that the level of qualification for the higher roll, electing 25 out of 36 members, is likely to be such that Europeans will be in a great majority on it everywhere for many years to come, and the proposal is therefore essentially a safeguard for European, not for African, interests in the Federal Government." (*Manchester Guardian*, January 25, 1957.)

Protest About Restriction Orders¹

Mr. Dixon Konkola, president of the African T.U.C., said that in a memorandum prepared by their political committee for Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the most important point was a "demand" that the leaders confined to their home districts should be allowed to go back to the Copperbelt to continue to do their work as trade union leaders now the State of Emergency was ended.

European Strike Ended²

After about three weeks, the strike of 235 daily-paid European mine workers ended on December 29, 1956. A statement by the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association, one of whose members was involved in the incident which caused the strike, led to

¹DIGEST III, 8.

²DIGEST IV, 4.
³DIGEST IV, 4.

further negotiations and the return to work. (*Sunday Mail*, December, 30, 1956.)

Congo Power Cuts Costs¹

The introduction of hydro-electric power from the Lualaba River in the Belgian Congo into the Copperbelt has enabled the mines to stop imports of coal from the United States, and the burning of wood, which together have cost the mines nearly £3,000,000. . . . Nearly 90,000 tons of coal has been imported since 1946. They have also used up thousands of acres of timber—equivalent to 156,000 tons of coal. . . . Congo power is cheaper than power from imported coal or from wood fuel. (*Sunday Mail*, February 17, 1957.)

Miners' Wage Claim Refused²

The arbitration tribunal to consider the African Mineworkers' Union claim for an increase of 6s. 8d. in basic pay for all daily-paid workers granted the union nothing. In his report the chairman, Sir Walter Harragin, said he could not reject the companies' evidence that whereas they had increased emoluments to African employees by 10-12 per cent since 1954, their standard of efficiency and productivity had not increased. The union, however, pointed out that on the companies' own figures there has been increased production, from which they argue that there must have been increased productivity on the part of those employed. The report said: "It was clear very early in the proceedings that this arbitration was being fought largely on semi-political grounds. The case for the employees was not based on their economic needs, though references were made from time to time to their natural desire to improve their standard of living. In the union's case the following sentence occurs: 'The fundamental issue is ultimately a racial and ethical one.'

"It cannot be disputed that the companies have for some considerable time and are today making handsome profits, but is that a sufficient reason for raising the wages of everyone who happens to be working for them? . . . With regard to the argument that the wages of the daily-paid European employees are disproportionately large in comparison with the wages of African employees, a statement that is not disputed by the companies, this is the old problem of skilled versus unskilled labour and goes back to the time-honoured problem of supply and demand. To put it bluntly, the fact is that there is a plentiful supply of African labour, whereas that is not the case with regard to the more skilled Europeans. Another reason for the disparity is perhaps the superior bargaining ability of the European union, but who could not bargain over an article in short supply? . . .

"I can well understand the irritation caused to the rest of the labour force by the more favoured position of the European daily-paid workers, but two wrongs do not make a right. . . .

"My view is that if the gap on the Copperbelt is too wide then that is due almost entirely to the manner in which the copper bonus is calculated for Europeans, and has little to do with basic wages, and should be taken up as a separate issue. I note with satisfaction that in view of the new African posts that have been recently created, the ratio between the lowest-paid European and the highest-paid African has changed during the past two years from 5:32 to 1 to 2:28 to 1."

Many of the branches of the African Mineworkers' Union were reported to have demanded strike action on hearing of the result of the tribunal. Mr. L. Katilungu, the union's president, criticized the arbitrators for not keeping to the terms of reference as agreed and said that failure to consider the effect of the copper bonus showed

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

²DIGEST IV, 4.

"that we have a genuine case on these allowances which we should take up as a separate issue". (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 7, 10 and 14, 1957.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (January 8, 1957) commented: "No better way to restore extremist leadership of the 35,000 African trade unionists on the copper mines could be devised than the arbitration tribunal's decision to award them no increase in pay whatever. . . . Mr. Katilungu's prestige is likely to slump dangerously and with it that of the constitutional approach." The *Central African Post* (January 11, 1957) foresaw more trouble ahead. "Here is the head of a Government Commission saying in so many words that the Europeans are getting more than they are worth, and one can hardly blame the Africans for not liking it. . . . Since the war the copper bonus has become a sort of Frankenstein to the industry. And the incredible paradox of employment has now been reached where, with the bonus at a 'meagre' 60 per cent—it has been over 100 per cent—there is agitation by the Europeans to have this figure consolidated into basic pay."

International Help for Union

Sir William Lawther, secretary-treasurer of the Miners' International Federation, attending the annual general meeting of the African Mineworkers' Union said that it was a mistaken idea that the Union was finished as a result of the arrest of its leaders and of near bankruptcy. He said that he would recommend the International Federation to help them. "Among the suggestions that I shall make is that it is essential for someone with wide trade union experience to come out and devote some months to helping the Africans to reorganize their structure from a business point of view." (*Federation Newsletter*, March 9, 1957.)

Nyasaland

Nyasaland and the Federation

In a memorandum presented to Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, the Nyasaland African Congress drew attention to the hostile attitude of the settlers towards the Colonial Office rule "The ex-Federal Prime Minister Lord Malvern and his henchmen have openly told the world that the Nyasaland Protectorate and 'Partnership policy' were forced upon them by the British Government; we are therefore at a loss to understand why we should be a part and parcel of this parody of Federal administration against our wishes." Congress called for a referendum to decide the issue of Nyasaland's withdrawal from the Federation peacefully. The African Affairs Board had proved useless. The memorandum also called for an inquiry into African education; African membership of the Executive Council; more African representatives in the Legislative Council; franchise for everyone over the age of 18 who could read and write an African language correctly; the restoration of seven chiefs who were deposed for "opposing Federation"; the withdrawal of banishment orders imposed on three men who took part in the anti-Federation campaign; the restriction of immigration to those needed "for training Africans in essential services"; the immediate abolition of "thangata"; the "Africanization" of the Civil Service; the encouragement of trade unions; the extension of the co-operative movement; the cessation of the deportation and the banning of inter-territorial movement of African political leaders within the Federation; and the institution of democratic forms of self-government at district, provincial and territorial levels.

¹DIGEST IV, 4.

The African Progressive Association said in a memorandum to Mr. Lennox-Boyd that it was totally against any efforts to contract out of the Federation. "We believe we have a duty to make it work and shall fight for partnership. . . ." The Chairman, Mr. C. Matinga, said that there had been more industrial expansion brought to Nyasaland in the last three years under Federation than in the previous ten years under the Colonial Office, but politically a lot was wanting. The partnership policy had not yet materialized to a great degree while "the underlying cause for the fast developing racial conflict is the hopeless failure by the Government to assimilate the educated man into the Western industrial system. . . ."

The Association condemned the suggested Federal franchise proposals for a dual voters' roll, and asked for a high standard of voting to be set, while there should be no reserved voting or reserved seats. Pointing to the provision of education facilities for other races, the Association criticized the Nyasaland Government for not doing enough for African education. . . . The Association urged a commission of inquiry into social discrimination to be set up. It proposed a Legislative Council made up of a President, 6 official members and 5 Europeans and 11 African unofficial members. (*Nyasaland Times*, January 11, 1957.)

Mr. W. M. Chirwa, M.P., described the talks between Mr. Lennox-Boyd and the African M.L.C.s, M.P.s and Nyasaland African Congress as "a big deadlock". The African M.L.C.s issued a statement of their "extreme disappointment". The representatives of the Coloured Community Welfare Association and the Anglo-African Association said that they were not satisfied with their talks with the Colonial Secretary. (*Nyasaland Times*, January 18, 1957.)

At a meeting of the Northern Provincial Council attended by Mr. Lennox-Boyd, one councillor expressed fears that if Federation were accepted "the madness being done in South Africa" would happen here. At the Southern Provincial Council Mr. W. M. Chirwa said the British Government should be ashamed of having imposed Federation against the wishes of the majority of the people of Nyasaland. "I want to assure him (Mr. Lennox-Boyd) that we are a peace-loving people and that within constitutional means at our disposal we will get out of Federation no matter what he says." He said that the Africans did not want to break ties with the Colonial Office until they were in a position to rule themselves. They did not want to be handed to European settlers. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 17 and 19, 1957.)

The *Nyasaland Times* (January 15, 1957), said Mr. Matinga of the Nyasaland African Progressives might be said to speak for the rising African middle class in Nyasaland, "a group which is as yet unfortunately very small. . . . His emphasis is on need for economic opportunity for the African within the Federation with political opportunity coming only when the African is capable of meeting a high voting standard. That view will not make him popular with the extremists, but he has put first things first, unpalatable though the truth may be. . . . In all fairness, however, Mr. Matinga should have added that the fault lies with both sides. The educated African has created among his class a barrier against any other type of work than clerical. He much prefers to become a white-collar worker and regards the tradesman with suspicion. The problem is to convince the educated African otherwise."

The visit of the Colonial Secretary drew many comments from newspapers in the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia about the position of Nyasaland. The *Johannesburg Star* (January 8, 1957) said: "Federation dominates and overshadows almost all Native political thought. This poverty-stricken, densely peopled Native territory has far more to gain and far less to lose by Federation

than either of the Rhodesias. But just because it is a Native territory, its inhabitants expected that in spite of its poverty, little Nyasaland was bound to advance rapidly to the status of the booming Gold Coast or Uganda if it remains outside the Federation."

The *Natal Daily News* (January 21, 1957) discussing Mr. Lennox-Boyd's meeting with the Provincial Councils said: "The powerful effect of South Africa's example in convincing northern Natives that they are unsafe under the Central African Federation operates even in the remotest corners of Nyasaland. . . . Whatever their rank and however distant their homes, the councillor's first point was always, most politely: 'We don't want Federation.' It was pointed out that they gain much as a small country and retain both direct protection by the Colonial Office and their own Nyasaland Government."

Mr. P. B. Reay after a visit to Nyasaland wrote in the *Rhodesia Herald* (February 19, 1957): "In the minds of the African leaders is the fixed idea that Federation will stop African economic advancement by bringing into Nyasaland a big influx of Europeans who will take jobs earmarked for Africans." He said: "One of the most difficult tasks is going to be to make them have the same confidence in Salisbury as they have in Whitehall." The Nyasaland African leaders were pinning their faith on the British Labour Party's "no colour bar" policy. "If the Labourites do not get into power, or if in power they do not fulfil their colonial policy promises, then Nyasaland African leaders are going to be bitterly disappointed." Mr. Reay described the advantages gained by Nyasaland from the Federation and said that expenditure on the health services had gone up from £248,000 (pre-Federation) to £662,000 (Federal estimates, 1956-7). Territorial expenditure had increased also as a result of money coming in from the Federal exchequer, e.g. public works expenditure, £200,000 in 1946, was over £5,000,000 in the current year. But, he argued, the practical advantages of the proposal to make European agriculture Federal would be small; it would be an expensive and ineffective step. "In practice it would be easier and cheaper—but completely unconstitutional—if both European and African agriculture became Federal. The feeling in Nyasaland, however, is that the advantages of making European agriculture Federal will be greater than the disadvantages, since European farming will be able to claim the interest and support of the Federal State—a very big political advantage."

The *Scotsman* (January 11, 1957) commented: "One of the most obvious results of Federation is the discontent in Nyasaland, previously one of the most peaceful and contented of Colonies. Africans will not change their views until they see the way to political and social equality with Europeans much more clearly than is possible at present. . . . Mr. Chirwa sees Federation to mean the establishment of White domination of Nyasaland, particularly if the Federation gets Dominion status. To the Africans it must be admitted it can hardly appear in any other light. What are they offered instead? Partnership, but partnership is one of those words that sounds good but can mean anything."

Africans Walk Out

All five African Members of the Nyasaland Legislative Council walked out of the Chamber as a protest when a motion concerning non-African agriculture in Nyasaland was introduced by the Chief Secretary, Mr. C. W. F. Footman.

The motion which was passed sought to set up a select committee of Members of the Legislative Council—including two Africans—to go into the pros and cons of making non-African agriculture in Nyasaland a Federal Government responsibility.

European agriculture in Southern and Northern Rhodesia is

already a Federal Government responsibility, and Europeans in Nyasaland want non-African agriculture there to be made a Federal responsibility as well. Africans in the Protectorate, however, have been suspicious of this move. . . .

Later, when the Africans returned to the Chamber, they put forward the names of two Members, Mr. N. D. Kwenje and Mr. J. R.N. Chinyama, for inclusion in the committee, and they were appointed. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 9, 1957.)

A motion by an African, Mr. N. D. Kwenje, that Nyasaland be "extricated from the Federation" as Nyasaland was a foreign country under British protection and because the protected people of the country had not sanctioned it, and that thus the Legislative Council sitting at that time was incompetent, was lost on a division by 17 votes to 5. The European elected members voted with the Government. (*The Times*, February 9, 1957.)

Mr. Kwenje also introduced motions asking for no more recruiting licences to be issued for companies recruiting labour in the country and for all land occupied by Africans on private estates to be declared Trust land. Both were lost. The *Rhodesia Herald* (February 11, 1947) commented that all hope of co-operation between European and African Members had been shattered.

At question time Mr. M. W. K. Chiume was told by the Secretary for African Affairs, Mr. J. H. Ingham, that it would not be possible to provide the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as part of the reading matter in schools as the terminology of such documents was not generally suitable for, or readily understandable by, school children. Mr. H. B. Chipembere elicited the fact that the Nyasaland Government was investigating the "general adequacy of the current minimum wage". And "that the Government hoped soon to employ a labour officer who had experience in trade unionism and that the question of holding courses in trade unionism, or sending trade union leaders to Northern Rhodesia for training was being considered. The Government was also considering sending some capable trade union leaders to Britain for advanced courses in trade union organization." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 8, 1957.)

During Mr. Lennox-Boyd's visit to Nyasaland he approved a proposal made by both non-African and African M.L.C.s that there should be an unofficial Speaker to take the place of the Governor in presiding over the Legislative Council. (*Nyasaland Times*, January 18, 1957.)

Recognition of Congress Withdrawn

The Nyasaland Government has withdrawn recognition of the African National Congress. The statement said: "In view of changed circumstances, emphasized in particular by the representations made by various African associations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies during his recent visit, the Nyasaland Government is no longer able to recognize the Nyasaland African Congress as representing African associations in Nyasaland."

During his visit, Mr. Lennox-Boyd spoke with delegations of Congress and also of the Nyasaland African Civil Servants' Association and the African Progressive Association. (*South Africa*, March 9, 1957.)

Multi-Racial District Councils

The eleventh multi-racial district council has been set up at Dowa. The first multi-racial district council was set up in Cholo in 1954. Others include those at Blantyre, Zomba and Lilongwe. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 12, 1957.)

African Education Officers

The first three African Education Officers in Nyasaland have been

appointed: they are on a salary scale of £550 to £1,315 a year.¹ They are Mr. A. W. Bwanausi, Mr. E. D. Mwasi and Mr. V. H. B. Gondwe, all of whom have university degrees with post-graduate qualifications in education. They are at present teaching at secondary schools. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 15, 1957.)

A Businessman's View of the Future

Mr. Rolf Gardiner in a report to the annual meeting in London of the tea and tung estate company of which he is the chairman said: "My belief is that, given a firm hand by Government and a wise correlation of the Federal and Colonial Office appointments in the administrative system—at present the source of some irritation, uncertainty and suspicion—Nyasaland will weather the worst hazards . . . For a very long time to come we shall continue to suffer from the Labour Government's disastrous handling of the Federation issue in Nyasaland, and from Sir Geoffrey Colby's administration at that period. . . ."

Mr. Gardiner said he doubted if the "noisy protest of a handful of unscrupulous and ambitious African 'politicians' in the Federal Parliament and the Legislative Council reflected the desires of the Africans as a whole. A smokescreen of propagandist phrases obscures a lack of statesmanly or administrative fire and distracts attention from the real issues of African advance and welfare." (*Nyasaland Times*, January 15, 1957.)

Adult Education Survey

A survey of African adult education in Nyasaland is being carried out, to find out what is required in this field and how far existing facilities cater for the population. Mr. T. D. Thomson, who is in charge of the school of local government at Domasi has been given permission by the Nyasaland Government to carry out the survey. . . .

The survey will cover academic or practical education for all Africans who have left school or are unable to enter an ordinary senior primary school. The survey is under the auspices of a committee, of which both the Rev. A. B. Doig and Mr. W. M. Chirwa, Federal M.P.s for Nyasaland, are members. (*Nyasaland Times*, January 8, 1957.)

Southern Rhodesia

Report of Franchise Commission

THE Commission investigating the territorial franchise in Southern Rhodesia under the Chairmanship of Sir Robert Tredgold, the Federal Chief Justice, recommended a common voters' roll with two classes of voter, one with high qualifications ("ordinary" voter) and one with low qualifications ("special" voter). All voters must be over 21 and have "adequate knowledge" of English. "Ordinary" voters must fulfil one of the three following conditions: (a) have an income of £60 a month, or occupy property worth £1,500, and be able to pass the present franchise literacy test; or (b) have an income of £40 a month, or occupy property worth £1,000, and have passed school Standard VI (roughly equivalent to completing primary school education) or (c) have an income of £25 a month, or occupy property worth £500 and have passed Form IV (roughly equivalent to G.C.E. ordinary level). "Special" voters must have an income of £15 a month, and be able to pass the present franchise literacy test, which

¹DIGEST III, 8.

means being able to fill in the official voters' enrolment form without help. A married woman without income would be deemed to have the same means as her husband.

The Commission recommended that all voters on the present voters' roll should automatically be registered as "ordinary" voters on the new roll. For the time being it did not expect that the number of "special" voters would exceed half the number of "ordinary" voters in any constituency, but should this occur, it proposed the introduction of a system by which the number of "special" votes which would be reckoned in the final count would be reduced proportionately so that they would never swamp the "ordinary" votes. For example, if, in an election, 3,000 votes were cast of which 1,200 were "special", only 900 of these would count, i.e. half the number of "ordinary" votes cast (1,800). The "special" votes cast for each candidate in this constituency would, therefore, be reduced in the proportion of 900 : 1,200 or three-quarters, e.g. any candidate who received 800 "special" votes would only count 600 of these.

The Commission rejected proposals for a second chamber of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament and also a number of franchise schemes, including those which were "frankly racial" and one put forward by the Capricorn Africa Society based on a system of multiple votes. It concluded: "It is idle to say, as is so often said, that educational and economic advancement must precede political representation. Unless the mass of the people could make its voice heard it will never be satisfied that it is receiving justice in the ordinary affairs of its daily life."

The Times (March 15, 1957) said that the proposals satisfied three out of four necessary conditions. Africans had the right to fair representation; Europeans had the right to demand that Government remain in the hands of civilized persons; racial systems of representation should be avoided; but the fourth principle, that the voting system should be simple and straightforward, had not been satisfied. It continued: "Most Europeans will probably accept them, many Africans will be suspicious."

The Manchester Guardian (March 15, 1957) discussed whether the proposals could be copied for the Federal franchise and concluded that this was unlikely since most African political leaders would not be content with less than complete adult franchise. The system, however, so far as Southern Rhodesia was concerned, was an improvement on the present method by which there were only six or seven hundred Africans on the roll as compared with fifty to sixty thousand Europeans, and no African members of the Legislature at all.

However, if the same methods were adopted for the Federal Assembly "it would have to apply to all members, including the nine specially chosen to represent African interests, and Africans would hardly agree to give up or even share their special representation unless they got in exchange a substantial voice in the choice of the other members. One would need to know a good deal about the present level and prospects of African incomes to say whether the present proposals do offer a fair exchange. A first impression is that they would not, and that the British Government, on the Africans' behalf, would not confirm a modification of the Federal franchise on these terms."

Subsidized Fares for Africans

The Government accepted the recommendation¹ by the Transport Services Commission that a levy of 1s. a head a month should be paid by all employers of African labour in Salisbury and Bulawayo who do not house their men at their place of work, in order to sub-

sidize transport costs. The Commission also recommended that the basic minimum pay of all urban Africans should be increased by 14s. 6d. a month to help meet their transport costs. The Government ruled this outside the Commission's terms of reference, although it had already given effect to it. The Commission recommended that the bus companies be allowed to raise the fares on any European route necessary to prevent their working at a loss; that the companies should be allowed to reduce the number of services on uneconomic routes, and to withdraw their buses from unprofitable routes; and, that European buses should carry Coloured passengers . . . that the companies investigate Africans' charges of rudeness against its employees; that ticket kiosks and shelters for intending passengers be put up; that timetables should be made available; that African schoolchildren should receive fare concessions as do Europeans; and that African passengers, through the proper organizations, should have the right to interview the bus companies direct.

The Rhodesia Herald (February 2, 1957) said the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the transport services of the two big centres stated flatly that African urban settlements conflict with the main principle of town planning; that homes should not be too far from the place of work. "What has happened, of course, is that European householders have invariably protested successfully against a proposed township in their vicinity, and the workman on whom the prosperity of the country depends has been forced further and further away, with a proportionate increase in fares. . . . The proposed levy of 1s. a month per man will not be popular, but the total cost, viewed realistically, is negligible, and will be amply repaid by greater output."

Difficulty About Multi-Racial Zone in Salisbury

Despite the fact that the Government has made inquiries regarding the zoning of land, under town planning regulations, on which a multi-racial hotel could be built at Salisbury to cater for African and Coloured air passengers who have to stay overnight while in transit, the Town Planning Committee of the City Council has recommended the full Council to inform the Government that the zoning of a multi-racial area is "not contemplated". Under the Land Apportionment Act, the appropriate Minister could give permission "in the interests of international and Commonwealth relations" for the owner of an hotel to provide accommodation for African and Coloured travellers—provided the hotel was in an area zoned for this purpose. The Archbishop of Central Africa shortly before retiring protested about this and said: "This does seem to me quite extraordinary. Apparently it is within the power of the municipal authorities to frustrate the intentions of the Government and to make it impossible for any African of any standing to get any meal within the European area except at an African eating-house."

"As one who for years has had the privilege of entertaining Africans and Euro-Africans in his own house at all meals, I can bear testimony that there is nothing except accident of race and colour to justify the barring of Europeans and Africans having some place within this city where they can feed together. It is most humiliating to respectable, courteous, well-mannered, cultured Africans when they attend a multi-racial meeting to be faced with this insult; and this continued effort to frustrate the intentions of the amendment of the Land Apportionment Act is doing infinite harm to race relations, and naturally and rightly incurs the suspicions and the anger of such Africans."

For many years Dr. Paget has advocated a multi-racial club. Recently this proposal received the support of the Methodist Synod held at Bulawayo. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 16, 17 and 21, 1957.)

¹DIGEST IV, 3 and 4.

Multi-Racial Trade Unions¹

The new Industrial Conciliation Bill has been published. Among the matters provided for in the new Bill are multi-racial trade unions, the formation of works committees to make recommendations to management on domestic matters, and the replacement of the Native Labour Boards by Industrial Boards which will function on a non-racial basis. In the new Bill, which has 137 clauses, the definition of employee is extended to include Africans. The works committees are compulsory at the request of employees in establishments employing more than 25 persons. . . .

More stringent provision is made regarding constitutional requirements for the registration and continuance of trade unions and employers' organizations, and the Bill seeks to prohibit such unions and organizations accepting money from, or granting money to, any organization which is permitted to indulge in political activities. . . .

To safeguard the position of a trade union which becomes multi-racial and which, as a result of this, suffers serious financial reverse, there is a provision enabling the Minister of Labour to grant, in certain circumstances, such trade unions an "open shop" in terms of which every employee eligible for membership, and employed in the industry concerned, and earning more than £500 a year, will contribute to the funds of the union. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 15, 1957.)

Previously, inter-racial trade unions were rejected by an African Trade Union conference. Mr. J. Z. Moyo, a Bulawayo delegate, said the interests of Africans were different—they regarded European workers as employers. Delegates also agreed to the forming of a new all-African Trade Union Congress, and the disbanding of the present one. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 19, 1957.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (February 16, 1957) commented on the Bill. "Its most important provision is that which extends the definition of an employee to include Africans. The narrow definition in existing legislation means that Africans may have no part and may not even be represented in proceedings between trade union representatives and employers under the Industrial Conciliation Act. Their membership of mixed trade unions would thus have little point. The fact that they are not members of trade unions alongside Europeans, and so are not properly apprenticed in the important trades, puts a low ceiling on their productivity and deprives them of legitimate bargaining powers in association with white artisans. At present they can make their needs known only through the Government's Native Labour Boards or directly to employers—at the latter's pleasure."

Wage Increases

New Native labour regulations lay down that Africans in the engineering industry can in future earn a minimum wage ranging from 6½d. an hour for the raw labourer and cleaner to 5s. 6d. an hour for the skilled worker, a top wage also applicable to Europeans and Coloureds. . . .

In actual current practice, the work in the top four grades (3s. 2d. to 5s. 4d. an hour) is being carried out by other than Africans, while that in grades 5 to 12 is being done by Africans. The rate in grade 5 is 1s. 9d. an hour so that there is a wide gap between it and grade 4 (3s. 2d.). The minimum starting wages for Africans in three industries are: engineering £5 12s. 8d. a month; furniture £5 8s. 4d. a month; clothing £5 8s. 4d. a month. In addition to their wages, the employees are entitled to free accommodation or an allowance in lieu of accommodation. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 29 and February 2, 1957.)

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

Mixed Marriage Protests

Mr. Patrick Matimba¹ has obtained permission for his European wife to enter Southern Rhodesia. They are to live at St. Faith's Mission, Rusape, where Mr. Matimba has a job as a clerk. An official said there was no legal objection to the couple living there.

A meeting of about 350 people called by the Rusape branches of the Federal and United Rhodesia Parties was addressed by Mr. N. G. Barrett, Federal M.P. for Mrewa and Mr. N. Straw, Southern Rhodesian M.P. for Rusape. It passed an almost unanimous resolution calling for legislation against mixed marriages, and demanded a general election on the question if the request was not carried out. Mr. Barrett said that he had always thought of partnership as working together for the common good, but he was not prepared to go as far as social miscegenation. He added: "We are sending a man to America to obtain funds in our vital development. I should like people to think of this. Any action of this kind would have delayed the achievement of dominion status and upset our tobacco market. Let them think of that before deciding that the Federal Government was wrong in granting a permit to Mrs. Matimba."

Mr. Straw added that he was prepared to assist in any constitutional and practical steps to discourage intermarriage between black and white. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 1 and 13, 1957.)

In a letter to the *Rhodesia Herald* (February 18, 1957) Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock said: "Considerable public interest and feeling have been aroused over the case of a young Rhodesian citizen, Patrick Matimba, who went abroad, married a Netherlands girl and now proposes to bring his wife and child to his home country. . . .

"I suggest that the following points are worth consideration: (1) This is not a case of a young adventurer who has set out to make an exotic and irresponsible alliance, but of a humble and hard-working young man of cosmopolitan experience who has formed a genuine attachment which has received the blessing of the Christian Church. (2) There is nothing sinister about his plans to bring his wife back to his home country. He was not invited or encouraged to do so by a Mission or anyone else. He is doing the most natural thing in bringing her to his father's house, and is only being helped by friends after he has decided to do it. (3) It is not an indigenous marriage between two people born, integrated and settled in the country, but an attachment made abroad in a rapidly changing world, yet an attachment which may have to endure in this country. (4) It is thus in no way a challenge to any accepted political or social principle of this country. It is a most exceptional and fortuitous case which has happened under circumstances which are likely to occur but very rarely. (5) It is, therefore, not an appropriate case, however strongly one may feel about it personally, on which to raise or argue questions of general principle, which may unleash the strongest passions and are of the greatest social and even international significance."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (February 14, 1957) commented: "Mixed marriages are a social problem and experience over many generations has shown that social problems are seldom if ever solved by legislation. The cure for behaviour of this kind is public opinion; and it is in the home that measures can best be taken to ensure the problem will be avoided. . . .

"The Rusape meeting demanded a general election on the issue should the Government refuse to introduce legislation prohibiting mixed marriages. The demand sprang, of course, from emotion—and it is seldom that wisdom and emotion go together. Rash demands made in the heat of the moment can be overlooked and, we hope, forgotten as well in this instance. For nothing could be more unwise than this particular demand. Were it pursued and persisted

¹DIGEST IV, 4.

with, there would be brought to the political scene in the Federation all the racial hates and poisons which have so embittered and bedevilled political and human relations in some other countries."

Native Councils and Urban Areas

The Native Councils Bill¹ will not apply to urban areas if the existing municipalities object. Mr. P. B. Fletcher, Minister for Native Affairs, said that the whole situation was likely to change as a result of the recommendations of the Commission which is to be appointed to investigate African urban problems. Strong opposition to the application of the Bill to African urban areas was expressed by the Municipal Association. Mr. Fletcher said that he had been misunderstood by both the municipalities and the African population. The Africans were in favour of the Bill because they saw in it a move to turn over the urban locations to them, and the councils were opposed to it for the same reason. They were both wrong. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 5, February 5 and 17, 1957.)

African M.P. Objects to Identity Books²

Mr. M. M. Hove, the African Federal M.P., referring to the proposal to give special identity books to "advanced" Africans instead of passes said: "It is still discriminatory and does not free the Africans from the necessity of producing the equivalent of a pass when called on to do so. The exemption certificate now carried by such an African, and the planned identification book exempting its holder from all pass laws, in no way lessened the humiliation of being called upon to prove identity. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 12, 1957.)

African Housing and Nutrition³

Miss Doss, the U.N. nutrition expert, who visited Rhodesia in 1956, published a report emphasizing that: "Nutritional deficiency diseases are undermining the health and the productive capacity of the African population." The *Rhodesia Herald* (January 5, 1957) commented: "The authorities will not find in it anything to surprise them. . . . Because of the white man's impact on the primitives we have a direct responsibility to see that especially the urbanized Africa, with disrupted customs and changed habits, has an adequate diet. . . . It is essential that the initial licence to imitate the white man's worst habits should be eradicated, that they should come to understand that milk is necessary rather than fizzy drinks, that good mealies or wholemeal bread are better than white buns, that meat and fresh vegetables must be as often as possible on the table. Of course, the financial problem arises: no one can buy all that is desirable on a few pounds a month."

The annual report of the Salisbury Department of Native Affairs referred to the successful drives to persuade new industries to establish themselves in the city. . . . "Little or no thought seems to have been given to the question as to how the Natives to be employed by the new companies will be provided with housing. . . . The department has still not caught up with the backlog of housing for Natives for whom avenues of employment were opened up in the last surge of industrial expansion."

African School-Teachers' Salaries

New salary scales for African teachers have been introduced. A fully qualified African male teacher with a university degree will now be on a scale of from £480-£1,080 instead of from £250-£585 p.a. There are 26 African teachers in Southern Rhodesia with this quali-

fication, while there were none qualified as a "two year trained teacher" entitled on the new scale to a salary of £360-£800. The minimum salary of the lowest grade (Standard V) teacher will be £60 p.a. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 12 and 13, 1957.)

The Rev. Whitfield Foy writing to the *Rhodesia Herald* (February 15, 1957) said: "It is certain that African teachers are going to say critical things about the new salary scale. One section of the African Press—a section which is justly earning a reputation for fair comment—has already done so. The big disappointment, it is clearly stated, is in 'the very low figures which will continue to be paid to matriculated, junior certificate and P.T.L. teachers, who are really the backbone of the educational system of the country'."

EAST AFRICA Kenya

Basic Problems Remain

MRS. EIRENE WHITE, M.P., a member of the recent Parliamentary Delegation to Kenya, writing in *Venture* (March 1957), noted a number of improvements in the situation since the summer of 1954, but added: "One has only to stop a moment to realize that, with all these changes, most of the basic problems are still there. The population grows apace, but vital statistics are sketchy and no one knows quite how fast. African living standards although improving, are still for the majority wretchedly low. Changes in land-holding are setting up new tensions in African life, but no one knows quite what they are. The detainees are coming out of the Kenya camps, but what their attitude to life will be five years hence, nobody can tell."

"So one has to try to match the positive and the negative and to strike a balance somewhere. The end of physical terror has brought a relaxation of attitude. Europeans are once more praising the Kikuyu for aptitude and intelligence and many who employed them formerly are thinking of having them back. This would ease the problem of poverty among those sent home in the Emergency who may have little or no land in the reserves, but meanwhile members of other tribes have taken their places and will not look kindly on being pushed out. In the detention camps which we visited, we had the strong impression that the abuses which undoubtedly occurred during the Emergency had largely been checked and that the Government is at last pursuing a positive policy and doing a great deal to restore the majority of the detainees to their homes as soon as possible."

The authorities, Mrs. White says, are more ready to admit blunders. The two main problems facing them are "what is to happen to the residue of detainees who are completely unco-operative and how far any further prosecutions should take place, based on evidence obtained, directly or indirectly, in the camps. . . . no one can contemplate with equanimity keeping people indefinitely detained without trial. The favoured idea is a restricted area land settlement scheme. But this would be quite unsuitable for some of those detained primarily because of political leadership. Some risks could and should be taken."

"On the point of prosecutions, in my view the law, which has been stretched in many ways during the Emergency, should now be stretched so as to disregard crimes revealed in the confessions which are part of the normal rehabilitation procedure. There are hundreds of self-confessed murderers in camp. While the confession itself is not used in evidence, in some cases other evidence is found following

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

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SOUTH AFRICA

Bus Boycott

AFRICANS living in Alexandra Township, near Johannesburg, began a bus boycott on January 7, 1957, in protest against a 1d. increase in fares by the Public Utility Transport Corporation (PUTCO), which runs the Alexandra buses. Simultaneously, boycotts began on the corporation's services from Sophiatown and from Lady Selborne location, Pretoria, where fares also went up by 1d. The boycott organization, the Alexandra People's Transport Action Committee, urged that there should be no "incidents" and no processions or crowds.

Fares between Alexandra and the city have been increased from 4d. to 5d. PUTCO receives a subsidy from the Native Service Levy Fund based on the number of passengers carried.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (January 10, 1957) said: "When men are prepared to walk eighteen miles a day to register a protest of this sort no one can help being impressed. The Natives' case, as we understand it, is not that the increase is 'unfair' but simply that they, as a community, cannot afford it. To a man who earns from £3 to £5 a week (and the average is about £3 10s.) an increase of 1s. a week, plus an increase in the fare of a wife who goes out to work, is a disaster of the first order."

After two weeks, the boycott spread to Moroka district.

Police were posted each day at the bus termini and along the routes and there was an extensive check on motorists giving lifts to the boycotters.

Africans from Lady Selborne were prevented from boarding trains by the railway police unless they had weekly or monthly tickets. The *Natal Daily News* (January 29, 1957) reported that a crowd of about 1,000 Natives in Lady Selborne township were baton-charged by police. Sixteen Natives were injured, one of whom died from a bullet-wound in the head.

Mr. B. J. Schoeman, Minister of Transport, declared that the boycott must be broken. He told employers to penalize lateness. He described as "misguided" those who were giving lifts to the boycotters and said they should be prevailed upon not to do so. He added: "If employers wish to increase the wages of their natives it is their own affair." (*Star*, January 18, 1957.)

Subsequently, the Minister of Transport asked the Johannesburg City Council, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the *Afrikaner Sakekamer*, to help the Government to break the boycott. (*Star*, January 29, 1957.)

The *Afrikaner Sakekamer* appealed to its members and other businesses to fight the boycott. The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce advised its members to adopt a firm attitude towards employees who were unpunctual or inefficient because of the boycott.

The Hon. F. A. W. Lucas in a letter to the *Star* (January 28, 1957) said: "Because of Mr. Schoeman's callous reaction to the bus boycott it has now become a serious problem, much more serious than it need have been. . . . Now the Black workers, who are finding life intolerable on the low wages they are getting and the great burden of transport costs, are protesting in the only way open to them. They have no votes. If they had Mr. Schoeman would not have spoken about them as he did. It is illegal for them to strike. What can they do

to escape from the poverty which is their lot? They cannot be enjoying having to walk eighteen miles a day as a protest."

In Randfontein, Port Elizabeth and East London, brief "sympathy" boycotts were held. In the view of the *Rand Daily Mail* (February 12, 1957) "sympathy boycotts" were most ill-advised, and more likely to alienate the sympathy which many Europeans felt for the boycotters than to win fresh support.

Pretoria *News* (February 15, 1957) reported the arrest of 2,000 Africans amongst whom were many bus boycotters sleeping illegally in a Johannesburg hostel to save the long walk home. This was the first of a series of raids in the course of which nearly 8,000 Africans were arrested. . . . The prisoners, held on charges ranging from trespassing to contraventions of the registration and tax laws, were banded together in a large yard where they were guarded by police, some armed with sten guns.

In an effort to avert the withdrawal of the buses which took place on March 1 and end the boycott, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, supported by his council, urged all employers to pay a special transport allowance of a shilling a week for employees affected by the fare increase. A further shilling was proposed for those whose wives and children used the buses. This was welcomed by the Mayor of Johannesburg, who said that the appeal was made independently of his own promise to try to get wage increases for Natives in unskilled trades in Johannesburg if the boycott were abandoned. He said that he believed that a rise in wages would be the only permanent solution to the boycott problem. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 23, 1957.)

A Co-ordinating Council, claiming to represent all the various committees concerned in the boycott in the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas, said that if a workable method of administering the shilling-a-week proposal could be found, the bus boycott would "end immediately". It welcomed the "fine gesture" made by the Mayor and the Chamber of Commerce.

The Alexandra Peoples' Transport Action Committee, explaining what was meant by a "workable method", said that the "transport allowance" proposal made by the Chamber of Commerce was unacceptable because: "The onus for collecting the transport allowance is placed on persons least able to collect it, i.e. individual African employees. Representatives of commerce, industry, and the City Council are in a much better position to collect the transport allowance than the bus-users are." No provision was made for the unemployed and their families and for day-labourers and others.

The Co-ordinating Council requested that a deputation representing them be received by the Minister of Transport, so that they could "respectfully present to him some of the difficulties and problems in the present situation".

The Minister of Transport, however, continued to declare that the boycott must be smashed. Moving the second reading of the Transport Amendment Bill, designed to prevent the provision of alternative bus services once PUTCO withdrew its buses, he said: "I wish to say with the greatest emphasis that if it was not for the scandalous and irresponsible actions of the Johannesburg *Star* and the *Rand Daily Mail*, and the spinelessness of the United Party, the boycott would have ended weeks ago. . . . If the employers had done what I suggested and refused to pay the Natives for working time lost, the boycott would not have gone on. . . . If there is anyone who still alleges that there is no political motive in this movement and that the boycott is not being continued through intimidation, then either he is blind or he identifies himself wholeheartedly with the aims and objects of the African National Congress to drive out the white man and set up a Native state."

The Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, said: "This Bill amounts to something in the nature of a counter-boycott—an attack not only upon the Natives, but also upon the commercial and business community of Johannesburg. What is worse, it is an attack upon those thousands of innocent Natives who, on the Minister's own showing, have been intimidated into taking part in this boycott, because he either cannot or will not take the proper steps."

At a meeting in Alexandra on "the day for final decision" (February 28) 5,000 Natives voted to continue the boycott, and burned the "penny-back" proposals made by the Chamber of Commerce. (*Sunday Times*, March 3, 1957.)

The Bishop of Johannesburg said that he was "deeply disturbed" by the people's failure to accept the Chamber of Commerce offer which was a generous one. "The rejection of an offer which had the great merit of giving time in which to formulate a long-term settlement must bring disappointment to a great number of people. One can only hope that the leaders on both sides of this dispute will, even at this late hour, accept their responsibility to the whole country and agree to come together to find an equitable solution. . . . I appreciate the difficulties confronting the leaders in trying to explain the proposals to thousands of people.

"There are two other problems which confront the leaders: the fact that they themselves have not resolved the various practical differences in the scheme; and the fact that while £25,000 was offered by the Chamber of Commerce, there could not be any similar guarantee for a long-term solution.

"Behind these immediate reasons for the rejection . . . there is the attitude of those in authority during the dispute." (*Sunday Times*, March 3, 1957.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (March 7, 1957) reported disturbances when an anti-boycott meeting was held in the Western Native Township. An African woman speaker said that the residents of the Western Native Township should break from those of Alexandra, Sophiatown and Lady Selborne Township. Most of the listeners cheered this proposal. But an orderly boycott meeting in Alexandra was perhaps the biggest yet staged. More than 6,000 were present.

A speaker said: "If anyone can bring a solution to us we will accept it," but added that the Chamber of Commerce offer was not acceptable.

Comment in Britain

The *Times* (February 20, 1957) in an editorial entitled "The Proud Walkers" said: "Unrest has been bred by the policy of apartheid in the Native townships served by the buses from Johannesburg. . . . Though Africans have been and are being removed from older and dilapidated buildings to well-appointed modern dwellings, the move has generally been away from the centre of the town and is admittedly intended to clear the inner areas for Europeans.

"Certainly the Alexandra People's Transport Action Committee may congratulate themselves on a remarkable feat of organization. After six weeks there is little sign of defection among the abstainers, who were lately estimated to number 75,000. . . . There has been some stone-throwing by women, but other reports of violence are few. Nor is it easy to prosecute a man for choosing to walk to work. The charges following the numerous arrests have been for failing to produce passes and poll-tax receipts, or for such offences as sleeping illegally in Johannesburg to avoid walking home.

"The whole episode stands as a warning that a majority denied political expression will always find means of asserting the latent strength of numbers."

The *Observer* (February 17, 1957) described the boycott combined with the imminent treason trials as a major political crisis. "The spontaneous unity of the boycotters, in centres 600 miles apart, has been a shock to white South Africans, as the Defiance Campaign was five years ago. The outcome and after-effects of the boycott depend to a great extent on the reaction of liberal Europeans to this shock. They face a clear decision—whether to declare themselves for or against the Africans; and Africans will, without doubt, watch carefully to count their friends. . . . It will be a tragedy if they are frightened away, as they were in the Defiance Campaign, by the deeper implications of the boycott, and by more drastic Government reprisals."

A Special Correspondent writing in the *New Statesman* (February 23, 1957) said: "The Nationalist Government clearly fears that in the technique of boycott the Union's urban Africans, whom it is determined shall remain voiceless transients, will find a most powerful weapon—for it has been successfully employed in the past. . . . In South Africa today, the boycott is virtually the only effective and legal method of protest left to the African. Unenfranchised, restricted to unskilled work and forbidden to strike, controlled and directed in every way, he can protest only by imposing yet greater hardship on himself."

Frank Barber (*News Chronicle*, February 19, 1957) wrote: "The African in Johannesburg has become a city worker. . . . No matter how many of his leaders are arrested by the police there are always others to take their place. That, indeed, is the most impressive fact about this boycott. It has appeared, solid and enduring, at the very moment when 156 of the Africans' supposedly most dangerous leaders and agitators are under arrest in the Drill Hall here accused of treason."

Treason Inquiry Continued¹

The inquiry into the charges of treason against 156 people has continued. Some 10,000 documents have been handed in by witnesses for the prosecution.

Mr. V. C. Berrange, who appeared for many of the 156 suspects, said that the defence will repudiate any suggestion that the Freedom Charter is treasonable. It will contend that the ideas of the Freedom Charter are shared by the overwhelming majority of citizens, though they may be repugnant to the present Government. It has at no time been the aim of the so-called Liberation Movement to bring about changes in the Government by subversive or violent means. No assistance was sought from abroad to bring about such changes; allegations to this effect were deduced from quotations torn from their context.

One of the documents handed in was a Press statement issued by the Natal Action Committee of the Congress of the People. This was signed by N. P. Naicker for the Committee. It read, in part: "There was always the danger of nationalism taking a narrow and bigoted path as Afrikaner nationalism had done in South Africa, and one has to guard against a Black nationalism which would preach what the Nationalists were preaching in reverse, but fortunately the African National Congress was not narrow and bigoted.

"It had called on South Africans of all races and colours to come together in formulating a Freedom Charter, a charter which would prevent the emergence of bigoted nationalism on the part of the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples in the country."

Another document called for "an active freedom campaign among all South African women". It said: "Hundreds of women of all races have come here today to unite together as sisters, to unite together

¹DIGEST IV, 4.

in the struggle for the freedom of our beloved country and of all people who live in it." A piece of notepaper condemning the South African Government in withdrawing from the United Nations was also handed in as evidence. (*Natal Mercury*, January 30, 1957.)

In the Senate Chamber all but fifteen Nationalist Senators walked out when Senator L. I. Rubin (Liberal, Natives' Representative) rose to move a motion concerning the circumstances of the recent arrests of people appearing in the treason inquiry. The fifteen remained to maintain a quorum. The United Party indicated that it would not take part in the debate.

Senator Rubin moved: "That in the opinion of this house—The recent arrest of 156 South African citizens took place in a manner and under circumstances which have given rise to widespread public concern." A full inquiry should therefore be undertaken. Nothing had been said or done by the Minister of Justice to suggest for one moment to the public that there was any justification for the highly unusual manner in which the arrests had been carried out.

The Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, said he appreciated the responsible attitude shown by the United Party. He regretted that Senator Rubin had made these allegations. As an advocate he should know better and should have an added respect for the law. There were attempts today to smear the police and to break down public confidence in the force. There was also a campaign to present the police as the enemy of the non-Europeans. There were very good reasons for the early-morning arrests. Everyone had to be arrested and transported to Johannesburg on the same day. It was also in the interests of the arrested people. There were also other reasons, which he could not mention, to get them all at the same time to Johannesburg.

Appeals for Defence Funds¹

Poverty and disrupted lives face many of the 156 people appearing at the treason inquiry, said the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves. "It is already clear that those involved will have to spend many more months without incomes and in many cases separated from their families.

"In view of the unique significance of the hearing, it is up to all people of conscience to help ensure that the suspects are afforded the best legal representation available and that their dependants will be properly cared for."

Hardest hit of all are the Non-Europeans. Many have lost their jobs. The families of some are almost destitute—one Evaton man has eight children and no income at all—and in some cases are threatened with eviction from their homes. (*Star*, January 29, 1957.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (January 22, 1957) said: "In some instances, it is said, the families of the accused are suffering by the absence of the breadwinner. Such an event was never the intention of the law, and it is one which must engage the attention of everyone with humanitarian feelings. A fund to help them in their distress has been established and has received a certain amount of success, but nothing like enough to relieve every case.

"As the circumstances of these proceedings are unprecedented, Parliament might well consider the unprecedented step of debating ways and means of meeting a social problem out of State Funds."

Mr. Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Labour Party, appealed to members of the British Labour Movement to support a Defence Fund opened by the National Executive of the Party by sending donations to him at Transport House, London, S.W.1.

A public meeting was held in London, at which an appeal was made for the Christian Action Treason Arrests Appeal (this Fund

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now stands at approximately £8,500). The speakers included Father Trevor Huddleston and Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Q.C. The meeting heard part of a recording which Chief Luthuli, president of the African National Congress, had made shortly before his arrest.

In Uganda an appeal committee has been set up of which Mr. C. M. S. Kisosonkole, the Saza Chief of Sekibobo, is president. The forty-four sponsors of the appeal include many members of the Legislative Council.

Case Against Civil Liberties Defence Committee¹

Alan Paton and five other people appeared before the Durban Magistrate's Court on January 28, charged with unlawfully attending a meeting in Durban on December 6. They were remanded until March 28. The *Sunday Tribune* (January 27, 1957) reported that the court proceedings would be featured on television screens throughout the United States.

Native Laws Amendment Bill

An explanatory memorandum attached to the Native Laws Amendment Bill, which has received its first reading in the House of Assembly, says that it is intended to issue one simplified consolidated set of regulations under the Native Labour Regulations Act, the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents) Act of 1952. One of the amendments to the Urban Areas Act introduces a simplified procedure for the removal of a resident from a location, Native village or Native hostel in certain circumstances, and does away with the need of resorting to costly civil processes. Another amendment provides that without the approval of the Minister, no person may conduct a church, school, hospital, club, institution or place of entertainment in an urban area, but outside a Native location, village or hostel, if it is to be attended by a Native. The prohibition does not apply to institutions of this kind established before January 1, 1938. Under the existing sub-section of the Act, the approval of the Minister is necessary only if the institution is conducted mainly for the benefit of Natives. (*Pretoria News*, February 23, 1957.)

Commenting on the Bill, Archbishop Owen McCann of the Roman Catholic Church said: "The churches in my archdiocese must remain open to all members of the Catholic Church. . . . I am amazed at the prohibition on churches which the Bill proposes. It constitutes a direct attack on freedom of religion and of conscience. By this Bill, the Government proposes to interfere with that right of conscience of the individual and the consequences will be most serious. Even the common good would not demand the surrender of the rights of conscience. The implications of the Bill are such that the Government claims the right to prohibit any particular section of the population from attending a particular church."

The Rev. Edgar Wilkinson, Superintendent of the Metropolitan Methodist Church, Greenmarket Square, said that although his church had separate churches for Natives, Indians, Coloured people and Europeans, there was nothing to prevent a Native from attending the service in any Methodist church in South Africa.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban has instructed his clergy to continue as before—regardless of the consequences.

The Cape Peninsula Church Council has rejected an assurance by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, that clauses in the Native Law Amendment Bill as published were not a threat to religious freedom. The Council said: "We believe that every church has the right of self-determination in deciding who shall attend its services and that any attempt on the part of the State to control or

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limit attendance at worship is an unwarrantable violation of religious freedom." The council represents the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational and Baptist churches. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 25 and 28, 1957.)

Shortly before his sudden death, the Archbishop of Cape Town, Dr. Clayton, signed on behalf of the Anglican bishops in South Africa a letter to Mr. Strijdom. The letter said: "... The Church cannot recognize the right of an official of the secular Government to determine whether or where a member of the Church of any race (who is not serving a sentence which restricts his freedom of movement) shall discharge his religious duty of participation in public worship or to give instructions to the minister of any congregation as to whom he shall admit to membership of that congregation. Further, the constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa provides for the synodal government of the Church. In such synods bishops, priests and laymen are represented without distinction of race or colour. The clause 29 (c) makes the holding of such synods dependent upon the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs.

"We recognize the great gravity of disobedience to the law of the land. We believe that obedience to the secular authority, even in matters about which we differ in opinion, is a command laid upon us by God. We are commanded to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. There are, therefore, some matters which are God's, not Caesar's, and we believe that the matters dealt with in clause 29 (c) are among them.

"It is because we believe this that we feel bound to state that if the Bill were to become law in its present form we should find ourselves unable to obey it or to counsel our clergy and people to do so. . . ." (*The Times*, March 9, 1957.)

If the Bill becomes law, sports bodies would not be allowed to stage meetings open to Natives in a European area without the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs.

The Liberal Party is also threatened. The implications of the Bill are to be discussed by the Party's executive. Senator Ballinger said that the Party may find itself in the position of "having to consider whether it must defy the ban or else curtail its activities, in which case it will have to shut up shop". He said that so far the Party had held all its meetings and conferences without any question of a colour bar. Its membership included Natives, Coloureds and Indians. He added: "It is fairly obvious to all that the Liberal Party is one of the targets in Verwoerd's Bill." (*Star*, March 7, 1957.)

Police Amendment Bill

A Police Powers Bill has been introduced in Parliament giving the police the right to withhold from the courts documents they have confiscated and to arrest anybody who "interferes" with the police. In the past it has been necessary for the police to prove that they have been assaulted, obstructed, resisted or hindered in the performance of their duties.

In the case of a dispute arising out of a decision by the Commissioner of Police not to produce a given document the final decision will lie with the Minister of Justice.

Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice, said that the provision relating to interference with police in the execution of their duties was a consolidation of the various pre-Union laws dealing with the subject. . . . It was in no way designed to increase the powers of the police. It was the duty of the State to collect evidence which could be used in criminal proceedings, but not to collect evidence which could be used by one party against another in civil proceedings. (*Sunday Express*, February 17, 1957.)

Increase in Native General Tax

A Bill is to be introduced during the present Parliamentary session to place the Native general tax, which has not been changed since 1925, on a basis "commensurate with the considerably higher level of income which has been attained in the meantime. The revenue from this source will be utilized for the general development and, in particular, the education of the Bantu."

The *Star* (January 18, 1957) said: "The Government's intention to make the Natives pay more, in direct taxation, towards their development and education is perturbing many people. They feel this will make further inroads into the incomes of a large number of Natives who already live below the bread-line.

"In the case of Europeans, those earning less than a certain income are exempt from income-tax and provincial income tax. Furthermore, in the Transvaal and the Cape, those earning less than £250 (married) and £150 (single) are exempt from personal tax. That principle is not applied to the Native. Every Native male, irrespective of income, has to pay £1 poll tax. There is thus a clear discrimination in principle between the White and Black races regarding individuals on whom taxes should fall. . . ."

The South African Institute of Race Relations has sent a memorandum to all M.P.s which points out that a Native family generally pays a higher proportion of income in taxation than a European family earning perhaps twice as much.

Africans start paying poll tax at the age of 18. Members of other racial groups do not pay personal tax until they are 21. The African's poll tax has not changed for thirty years, but in that period Africans have been required to pay: a local tax of 1s. a hut per year (maximum £2) on occupiers of land in rural locations—though some Natives were exempt; quit rent or squatting fees payable by holders of plots in certain Native areas; a general levy of 10s. a year in the Transkei.

Tribal levies, now being increasingly introduced, vary from 2s. to £3 per taxpayer a year—the average being about £1. In March 1956 there were 166 compulsory levies and 577 voluntary levies in force. An education tax of 2s. a month is levied on African residents in recent housing schemes in many urban areas. In addition, says the statement, Africans in the Transkei might be called upon to pay an extra £4 a year to the Bantu authorities to be set up there.

The Institute estimates that in direct taxation Africans probably pay considerably more than £3,500,000 a year. In addition they also pay £30,000,000 to £40,000,000 a year (the estimate of the Minister of Native Affairs) in indirect taxation.

In 1955-6 the State spent £27,079,865 on Africans.

In 1954 the Institute made a detailed investigation into the cost of living of an average African family of five in Johannesburg. The minimum essential expenditure a month was found to be £23 10s. 4d., yet the income of the average family was £15 18s. 11d.—a deficit of £7 11s. 5d. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 7, 1957.)

University Apartheid

The Government will shortly be empowered to take full control of Fort Hare University College, the only non-White college in the Union. The move will be part of the Government's university apartheid programme: the complete separation of all White and non-White educational institutions.

The Government has also announced that it will take over control of the Non-European Medical School of Natal University. A statement issued by the seven heads of the Medical School faculties said: "At the official opening of the new medical school the present Minister of Education emphasized that the Government would not interfere with the University's development of this faculty. If transfer of

control of the faculty without any consultation with the University is not regarded as interference, then moral values have little further meaning.

"In these circumstances there can be no foundation of trust between the University academic staff and the authorities now governing higher education in the country. In the absence of this basic trust, and with separation of this faculty from a true University environment, we see little possibility of carrying into effect the initial ideals which motivated us in joining the University of Natal."

The Natal coastal branch of the Medical Association of South Africa sent a strong protest to the Minister of Education declining "to co-operate in any way with any authority other than the University of Natal in the staffing of the medical school". This means the withdrawal of the support of virtually all local doctors, from whom the majority of the part-time lecturers at the medical school are drawn. Subsequently twenty-seven university lecturers put their names to a further resolution. (*The Times*, February 15 and 19, 1957.)

Mr. G. N. Oldfield, M.P.C., said that, if the Government took control of the Medical School he would ask the Provincial Council to withdraw its 50 per cent subsidy, and deny the use of any facilities at the King Edward VIII Hospital to any State-appointed staff.

A group of twenty-four prominent South Africans including Uys Krige, Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, the Director and the President of the South African Institute of Race Relations, three past presidents of the Institute and Dr. Edgar Brookes, a former Native Representative in the Senate, have appealed to the Government to reconsider its decision to enforce segregation at the universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town.

The group said that it was of paramount importance in this country that flexibility and experimentation should be preserved and that "the stultifying uniformity which the Government now declares it will impose" should be avoided. It criticized the Government's proposals for establishing five non-White universities and said that the country could not afford to create a further five universities when the existing ten universities were all handicapped to a greater or lesser degree by lack of funds.

There was ample room at the existing universities for the relatively small number of non-Whites seeking university training. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 16 and 25, 1957.)

The Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, the former Chief Justice, Mr. A. van de Sandt Centlivres, said that a very great principle of academic freedom was at stake, and for a long time to come only a handful of non-European students would offer themselves at the "open" universities. These should be given every opportunity of sharing in full in the benefits of Western civilization so that they could help in maintaining it instead of attending "breeding grounds of anti-white nationalism." (*The Times*, February 1957.)

The published text of the Separate University Education Bill provides for the establishment and maintenance by "the Minister" of university colleges for Bantu students and others for Coloured students, which will prepare students for the examinations of the University of South Africa (an existing examining body). The principals, councils and senates of such colleges will be appointed by the Minister and will, in effect, be Civil Servants. . . . From next year the "open" universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand will be allowed to accept new non-White students only with the permission of the Minister. Provision is made for an absolute ban on the registration of non-White students at White universities to come into force in stages, as faculties are provided in the new colleges.

Members of the staffs of the Non-European colleges will be sub-

ject to dismissal for the usual reasons of misconduct and also if they "publicly comment adversely upon the administration of any department of the Government or of any province, or of the territory of South-West Africa", or if they are associated with propaganda calculated "to cause or promote antagonism among any section of the population of the Union against any other section of the population, or to impede, obstruct or undermine the activities of any Government department". (*The Times*, March 14, 1957.)

Nursing Apartheid

The Government plans to amend the Nursing Act, which was referred to a select committee of the House of Assembly during the previous session and which provides *inter alia* for the observance of racial separation in the nursing profession.

The *Sunday Times* (January 20, 1957) said: "The Nationalist Government's insistent efforts to enforce apartheid in the bodies which control nursing in South Africa are likely to lead to another international rumpus. Nurses even in far-away Jamaica have passed a resolution expressing sympathy with the nurses of South Africa 'who are having racial discrimination forced on them'."

Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, who in 1943 introduced the present non-colour bar Nursing Act which was taken over by the United Party Government and which set up the Nursing Council and the Nursing Association, both statutory bodies, said that non-White nurses in the Union were "furious" about the Government's new Bill. Although the Nursing Bill was passed in 1944 and although there was no agitation by either the Nursing Council or the Nursing Association for a colour bar, the Nationalists proposed a bar immediately they came to power.

It is believed that the Government will try to pass the Bill during the present session.

Miss Jane McLarty, formerly Matron of Baragwanath Non-European Hospital in Johannesburg, writing to the *Nursing Times* (July 20, 1956) said: "As long ago as 1948 certain draft amendments to the Nursing Act were proposed both by the S.A. Nursing Association and the S.A. Nursing Council. To these clauses the then Minister of Health added further amending clauses limiting membership of the Board of the Association and of the Nursing Council to European South African citizens. The proposed introduction of this new principle into the Nursing Act which had previously, in accordance with the ethical principles of the nursing profession, acknowledged no distinction of race, was not made at the request of the nurses of South Africa. The fact that many of them have since accepted it, or contributed to its acceptance by their own failure to register their vote against it, is a tragedy that will have the most profound effect on the history of nursing in this country.

"The apathy with which many nurses regarded this vital question was demonstrated in February 1950, when the Board of the Association referred it to the Branches for an expression of opinion. Eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-five members were entitled to vote, but only 2,495 votes were recorded; of these 1,390 were in favour of excluding non-Europeans from the Board and the Council, 1,104 against it. . . .

"The Board of the Association, confronted with a proposal which would deprive its Non-European members of a privilege and having had this proposal endorsed by a majority of those members voting on it, then proceeded to consider ways and means of replacing the lost privilege by some other type of representation."

Their proposals, now included in the Amendment Bill, were that the registered Non-European nurses and midwives should elect one European representative to the Board and that a Non-European

Standing Committee should be established of which there would be European and Non-European members. Miss McLarty continued: "These proposals have been widely discussed by Non-European members of the Association and there is a growing resolution, hardened by the tone of some of the evidence given to the Select Committee, to reject them completely, to refuse to nominate candidates (for the standing committee) and in fact to dissociate themselves from a Nursing Association in which they will no longer have full membership rights in common with other registered nurses and midwives."

Too Much Legislation

The Hon. A. van de Sandt Centlivres, addressing the Institute of Citizenship, said that there was far too much legislation in South Africa.

"Every legislature should bear in mind that it is useless to pass laws which do not carry with them the approval of the great bulk of the people. The real and effective sanction for the observance of laws is not punishment, but the willingness of the people at large to submit to them for their own good."

The multiplicity of legislation resulted in a multiplying of criminal offences. Every year there was a great increase in the number of statutory crimes, the existence of which the ordinary man in the street could not be expected to know.

Statutory crimes were often crimes to which no moral stigma attached. The constant multiplication of crimes led to the overcrowding of jails and to the association there of statutory offenders with hard-bitten common law offenders.

Roman Catholic Schools and Colleges Threatened

The Government has closed St. James's Roman Catholic Mission School at Magaliesberg. The school received a letter from the authorities refusing permission for its reopening the day before it was due to open. As a result, 177 Native children in the area are without schooling. It has been closed on the recommendation of the Native Affairs Commission, which stated in its 1954 report that the presence of a Bantu school, of the size of St. James's Mission School, in a European area is "definitely undesirable". (*Star*, January 25, 1957.)

The Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr. W. M. Eiselen, has notified five of the six Roman Catholic Native Teachers' Training Colleges in the Union that from the end of this year they will no longer be classified as Government Bantu Schools. Should they wish to continue from 1958 onwards, they will have to apply to the Department for registration as private training colleges, and the applications will be considered by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, in terms of the Bantu Education Act.

Dr. Eiselen told the colleges that if they became private colleges they would be expected to follow departmental syllabuses, but would set their own examinations and issue their own certificates, which would not be recognized by the Department of Native Affairs. Holders of the certificates would not be entitled to appointments in Government or Government-aided schools. The colleges could draw up their own syllabus for religious instruction, but it would have to be submitted to the Department for approval. (*Natal Mercury*, January 26, 1957.)

Africans in the Transvaal are reported to be "turning their backs on the Bantu Education Act and sending their children out of South Africa to attend school in the Protectorates because of the latest instructions from the Education Department that children must be taught in their home language." (*Sunday Express*, February 10, 1957.)

Freedom of the Press

"Onlooker" writing in the *Natal Mercury* (February 2, 1957) said: "One of the most significant features of the present session of Parliament has been the increasing crescendo of the attack on the English-language South African newspapers. . . . The matter will probably come to a head early next year. The almost-forgotten Press Commission, which has been in existence for longer than one cares to remember, is due to report towards the end of this year and when the Report becomes available the Government will undoubtedly make more than the most of any opportunity the findings provide."

"The courts and the newspapers are in these days the last bastions of liberty and any interference with them would be yet another step on the road to the dictatorship that the Nationalists are finding it increasingly necessary to establish to maintain their extremist doctrines."

In addition to Mr. Schoeman's accusations against the Press regarding their encouragement of the bus boycott, Mr. C. R. Swart attacked the newspapers for printing only one side of the story. He said that for years he had seen pictures published of policemen chasing Natives or beating people with batons. "Rioters pick up stones and carry dangerous weapons and the police are injured.' You never see pictures of this published in the Press."

The Commissioner of Police, General C. I. Rademeyer, said that newspapermen who, in the course of their professional duties, found themselves in riots, must expect to be treated as rioters.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (January 28, 1957) commented that Mr. Alex Hepple was the only M.P. to defend the English-language Press in the course of the "no confidence" debate.

Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs, has denied that his Government is contemplating any sort of Press censorship legislation this year. (*Star*, March 7, 1957.)

Nationalist Leader Resigns

Dr. Theo Wassenaar has resigned as Nationalist party leader in the Transvaal Provincial Council because of the exclusion of English-speaking citizens from membership of a school board. He issued a statement giving as his reason his deep disappointment and shock that the Prime Minister had succumbed to the extremist attitude of certain Nationalists in excluding English-speaking citizens from a school board on the West Rand. He said he regarded this as a violation of a fundamental principle of the Nationalist Party. Quoting assurances and declarations by Mr. Strijdom on partnership and understanding between the Union's two White races, Dr. Wassenaar referred to the "yawning gulf which lay revealed between the solemn words of guarantees on the one hand and the utter and complete absence of that spirit in practice" as being shocking to him.

Dr. Wassenaar has said that he remains a Nationalist and favours a republic within the British Commonwealth. He has refused to resign either from his party or from the Transvaal executive, but he has been suspended and asked to resign from the party executive committee. (February 28, 1957.)

Position of Indians

The United Nations General Assembly has urged South Africa, India and Pakistan to begin negotiations aimed at settling the dispute over treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union. Voting was 42 in favour, 0 against, with 12 abstentions. The resolution noted that the Indian and Pakistan Governments had "reiterated their readiness to pursue negotiations with the Government of the Union of South Africa, in accordance with the expressed desires of the

United Nations" and noted "with regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa has not yet agreed to such negotiations". (*Natal Mercury*, January 31, 1957.)

American Citizen to be Deported

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dinges, has ordered the deportation under escort of Mrs. Mary Hooper, an American who was granted a permanent residence visa in South Africa in 1956. She is detained in Johannesburg Fort. Her attorney, who has sent an urgent telegram to the Minister about her arrest, said it was not generally realized that under the amended Immigration Act the Minister has unchallengeable and unfettered power to deal with aliens. (*The Times*, March 13, 1957.)

American Missionary Barred

Dr. George W. Carpenter, a leading missionary who caused a controversy in the Union two years ago by alleging that Native mine workers on the Rand worked "like nineteenth century slave labourers", has been refused a visa to enter South Africa. The Government decision was, it is understood, taken by the Cabinet. A letter received by the Rev. A. W. Blaxall, of the Christian Council of South Africa, stated that Dr. Carpenter's application for a visa was rejected after full consideration at ministerial level. No reasons were given for the decision. (*Star*, February 25, 1957.)

End of the Union Jack

The Flags Amendment Bill has been given its third reading, and now goes to the Senate. It has full government support. This means that when it is passed the South African flag will be the nation's only recognized banner. Until now the Union Jack has had legal status as second flag. (*News Chronicle*, March 8, 1957.)

Opposition's No Confidence Motion

The Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, in moving a motion of no confidence in the Government, said that the Government was ruling by fear.

In regard to the Native policy, the Prime Minister was faced with this dilemma. He could not pursue the policy of total *apartheid* too far without losing support, because one section of his followers were not prepared to make the sacrifices as indicated in the Tomlinson Report. On the other hand, if he did not proceed with it, he would lose the moral basis of his whole policy, and consequently lose the support of another section of his followers.

The record of the Government in the economic sphere had been such as to outweigh their many errors in other spheres. In the past eight years expenditure had more than doubled without any great benefit to anybody or any improvement in the public service.

Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer (U.P., Kimberley City), criticizing the Government's administration, said that the Group Areas Act had been constantly amended and new clauses added and after all this time Group Areas had been proclaimed in only eight places and had caused a great deal of mischief in all of them.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (January 28, 1957) said that at the end of the four-day debate the Government was, in boxing parlance, "wide open to a fearful onslaught". But Sir de Villiers, for some reason known only to himself, decided not to take advantage of the situation. Instead, he offered the Government co-operation on the basis of "South Africa first" on all matters of national importance. Sir de Villiers went on to protest about the attempt the Government had made to link the United Party with the English-language Press.

(The newspapers *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Express* and *Star* referred to in this section are South African publications.)

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Oral Hearings Granted by U.N. Assembly¹

THE United Nations General Assembly, by 60 votes to 0 against, with 9 abstentions, accepted and endorsed the International Court's advisory opinion of June 1, 1956, on the question of the admissibility of oral hearings by the Committee on South-West Africa and therefore authorized the Committee to grant hearing to petitioners from the territory. The Trusteeship Committee had approved the opinion by 51 votes to 1 with 10 abstentions.

Compulsory Jurisdiction Suggested

In a memorandum to the U.N. Trusteeship Committee, the Rev. Michael Scott said: "The Union of South Africa, the Mandatory Power, has refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the United Nations in spite of three advisory opinions of the International Court and ten years of attempted negotiation, debate and resolutions of the General Assembly. This has now raised the question in the Fourth Committee of what possible courses of action are open to the United Nations or to those countries which were formerly members of the League of Nations and on whose behalf the Mandate is exercised. One such course is to seek the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court."

Mr. Scott said that Chief Hosea Kutako and others whom he represented in South-West Africa had asked that this course should be followed several years ago. He requested that action on this matter should be taken as early as possible and not necessarily delayed until the next session of the Assembly.

He referred to the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of 1950, which held that Article 7 of the Mandate, stating that disputes between the mandatory State and another Member of the League of Nations, if not settled by negotiation, should be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice, was still in force and therefore South Africa was under an obligation to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Mr. Scott appealed to the delegates of countries which were formerly members of the League to assert their rights and "thereby to vindicate the efforts which have been made by the U.N. to maintain the integrity of this 'sacred trust to civilization' in face of the violations of the Mandatory Power to whom it was entrusted in all good faith". He concluded: "I would also ask that serious consideration be given to the question of seeking some form of substantial indemnity for the African population on account of the dispossession of their land and rights, and of the other grievous deprivations and wrongs they have suffered as wards of the international community at the hands of a trustee who claims to have inherited the property and persons entrusted to its administration."

U.N. Committee to be Enlarged²

In the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee a resolution introduced by Mr. Thanat Khoman (Thailand), the chairman of the Committee on South-West Africa, was adopted by 46 votes to 0 with 10 abstentions. The resolution retained the Committee on South-West Africa with its present terms of reference, increased its membership from 7 to 9 and introduced a system of rotation in order to enable as many members of the U.N. as possible to take part in the Committee's work. (*U.N. Press Release*, February 15, 1957.)

¹DIGEST IV, 1.
²DIGEST IV, 4.

Post Office Apartheid

The Executive Committee of the Legislative Assembly decided that a partition wall, marked on the original plan of the Rehoboth Station Post Office, but not actually built, must be included, to divide the counter. The Rehoboth Coloured Board, however, have asked for two divisions. "The Coloured people want a division between Coloured and Black if they cannot be grouped with White." The Executive Committee will build only one dividing wall. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, November 27, 1956.)

European Farms

Europeans hiring farms from Coloured people in the Rehoboth area have been warned by the Executive Committee of the S.W.A. Legislative Assembly that they will not be able to renew rental contracts after the end of 1957. . . . The clearing of European farmers from the Rehoboth area has the approval of the Rehoboth Coloured Board.

It is planned to establish 10 farms of 6,800 hectares each on Crown Land on the edge of the Aminuis Reserve, on the border between South West and Bechuanaland. Boreholes for water are being sunk. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, November 27, 1956.)

Control of Mineral Resources

The *Windhoek Advertiser* (February 12, 1957) reported "from a most reliable source" that high-level talks were taking place in which attempts were being made by the Union of South Africa Department of Native Affairs to obtain control over mineral rights in the Native Reserves of South-West Africa. Special mention was made of the Kaokoveld, a Native and Game Reserve, where there were many diamond and salt claims. The paper comments: "The interesting point of the whole matter is that not one Native lives in the coastal areas where the mineral activities are carried out."

During November 1956 total sales of minerals produced in the Territory amounted to £1,363,000, according to the *Economic Review*, a publication of the Netherlands Bank of South Africa. Most of this amount came from lead, copper and zinc concentrates exported to the U.S. and Europe.

WEST AFRICA

Ghana

Welcome to Ghana

ON March 6, 1957, Ghana attained independence. At midnight on March 5, the Speaker read the Governor's speech proroguing the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly. The Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, then addressed "the biggest crowd ever seen in Accra" on the theme "Our beloved Ghana is free now for ever".

On March 7, the Ghana Parliament was opened by H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent who read a personal message from H.M. The Queen. In it the Queen said: "The hopes of many, especially in Africa, hang on your endeavours. It is my earnest and confident belief that my people in Ghana will go forward in freedom and justice, in unity among themselves and in brotherhood with all the peoples of the Commonwealth."

Distinguished visitors from all over the world were present as guests of the Ghana Government and took part in the celebrations. They included Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., and Mr. James Griffiths, M.P., representing the British Government and Opposition respec-

tively. Mr. R. Nixon, Vice President of the U.S.A., and Dr. Ralph Bunche of the U.N.O.

In Britain the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, broadcast welcoming Ghana into the Commonwealth. Dr. Nkrumah, who became Foreign Minister and Defence Minister, in addition to Prime Minister, said: "The Commonwealth association is of value to us because it unites us to countries who have the same system of law and the same system of parliamentary government as we have. The Commonwealth can, I believe, become a pilot scheme for developing the most effective methods by which colonialism can be ended without revolution or violence and under conditions in which the former colonial territory still retains a close and friendly association with the former Imperial Power."

By a unanimous vote, both in the U.N. Security Council and the General Assembly, Ghana has become the eighty-first member of the United Nations. The resolution proposing Ghana's admission to the U.N. was sponsored by seven members of the Commonwealth—Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom.

Comment in Britain

The Observer (March 3, 1957): "This is likely to be as significant a date in Commonwealth history as the time, almost ninety years ago, when Canada became the first self-governing Dominion."

The Manchester Guardian (March 6, 1957): "The credit can be broadly shared. Both among the governing and among the governed in past years there have been vigorous, thoughtful, and devoted men, civil servants, and missionaries, chiefs and traders, working like leaven in the primitive lump. There is a fine Christian heritage. Nor were the Akan or the Ashanti traditions a negligible force, in their fierce way. . . . Perhaps the turning point was the decision, made more than thirty years ago, to press forward with higher education as a matter of public policy. Ghana was born and nurtured on the playing fields of Achimota more surely than Waterloo was won on those of Eton."

The B.B.C. broadcast a number of feature programmes to mark Ghana's independence.

Revision of the Constitution

After months of dissension between the Government and the Opposition, and demands for secession from Ashanti and the Northern Territories,¹ agreement was reached on constitutional matters. Following a visit by Mr. Lennox-Boyd to the Gold Coast and a last-minute visit to London by two Ministers, Mr. Gbedemah and Mr. Botsio, the Proposed Constitution of Ghana on which agreement was reached was published as a British Government White Paper.²

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Busia, said: "We have fought for a Constitution, and I would like it to be known that, though we are happy about what we have got, we are still going to fight for more. We have now made it very difficult for anybody to establish a dictatorship in this country before or after independence." The Asantehene called for peace and harmony. It was now for all to forgive and forget, he said, and he asked his chiefs to be tolerant of those who had in the past been at daggers drawn with them. (*The Times*, February 13, 1957.)

According to the revised constitution the National Assembly will have a speaker and 104 members. Ghana will be divided into five regions, each with a Regional Assembly with considerable local

¹DIGEST IV, 4.

²CMD. 71.

authority and a House of Chiefs. Each region will have a head, who for Ashanti will be the Asantehene. There will be a Public Service Commission and a Judicial Service Commission. Any Bill to amend the Constitution must not only have a two-thirds majority of all the Members of Parliament, but also must be referred to Regional Assemblies and houses of Chiefs.¹

Trouble in Togoland

The proposal to join Southern Togoland with the Transvolta as one region led to a resolution of protest from the Togoland Congress and the Howuwu, one of the four paramount chiefs (*The Times*, February 27, 1957).

Disturbances occurred in which five people were killed and twenty-three injured. The Government of Ghana in a statement gave warning that it was not prepared to tolerate acts of violence or lawlessness. The position was reported quiet on March 9.

Relations with South Africa and the Commonwealth

The Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, said that if he had his way he would smash the South African system of *apartheid*. The system of racial separation did not conform to principles of Christian ethics, he declared.

Dr. Nkrumah was asked whether the critics of South African policy could look to Ghana for support of trade sanctions and boycotts against South Africa. He replied that Ghana would continue to trade with South Africa and receive technical assistance from that country. "We cannot interfere in the internal affairs of another country, and we shall have to be very careful about what we do," he said. "If public opinion throughout the world can bring pressure to bear on South Africa, it would be a different matter."

In reply to another question, he said it was possible that in the near future he would convene a pan-African conference of independent states. "We want to give territories in Africa an African personality and the only way we can do that is to call such a conference," he said. Those invited would include Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt, Liberia and possibly—as a gesture—South Africa.

Asked about a possible federation of West Africa, the Prime Minister said: "If I can do anything to bring it about I shall with pleasure."

On being asked about future relations with the Commonwealth in view of rumours that he might make the country a republic, Dr. Nkrumah said: "We are going to remain within the Commonwealth. I have made that clear. There is no idea of a republic in my mind, but if the people wanted it I would be prepared to go along with them, provided the republic remained within the Commonwealth." (*The Times*, March 8, 1957.)

Nigeria

Bank Inquiry Findings

THE tribunal appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to inquire into the connexion between Dr. Azikiwe, Premier of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, and the African Continental Bank, published its report in January. In the opinion of the tribunal, Dr. Azikiwe was guilty of misconduct as a Minister in failing to relinquish his financial interest in the bank when the proposal to inject public moneys into it was first mooted.

¹For further information see Background Facts No. 1, "Ghana", published Africa Bureau, price 4d., or 3s. a dozen.

The tribunal found that whatever the legal effect of Dr. Azikiwe's letter dated January 30, 1954, resigning from the offices of Chairman and Governing Director of the African Continental Bank, and of the instrument, made on the same date, appointing Mr. Blankson to act in his stead as Governing Director and Chairman of the Bank, Dr. Azikiwe intended their effect to be that Mr. Blankson was appointed as his agent to act in his stead so long as he remained a Minister of State, and that upon relinquishing the office of Minister of State he would automatically resume the offices of Governing Director and Chairman of the Bank.

In an editorial comment *The Times* (January 17, 1957) said: "Before passing moral judgement, it is fair to bear in mind certain essential differences between conditions in a highly organized society like that of Britain and a young one like that of Nigeria. . . . There are very few persons capable of being either Ministers or chairmen of banks and those who are tend to engage in a multiplicity of activities. To insulate the 'Zik' group of enterprises completely from the influence of their founder would scarcely have been possible on account of his dominant ability and personality. Another point that has to be borne in mind is the likely reaction of Nigerian public opinion. Dr. Azikiwe has very adroitly represented the setting up of this tribunal as an imperialist plot to delay African political advancement. Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, has disposed of this argument by pledging Great Britain to hold a constitutional conference next May. Nevertheless, there is much sympathy for Dr. Azikiwe in Eastern Nigeria. . . . More widely spread is a vague feeling that Dr. Azikiwe has done a great deal for Nigeria and is entitled to do something also for himself."

The Governor of the Eastern Region, Sir Robert Stapledon, announced shortly after the publication of the Report that elections to the Eastern Nigerian House of Assembly would be held on Friday, March 15.

Election Manifestoes

The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, the party that was in power in Eastern Nigeria, in its manifesto, recounted its achievements and plans for the future in all departments of government and what the party would do if returned to power. This year, 1,300,000 children will be in schools as against 566,000 in 1953. Plans for the future included the founding of a university, and the awarding of more scholarships for study in the universities and colleges of the world. At present, there were about 1,000 Eastern Nigerian students in Europe, America, India and other places. The party would continue to pursue the policy of bringing medical facilities to the reach of all people in Eastern Nigeria by introducing a National Health Service. A school medical service was being developed.

The manifesto says that immediate self-government for the Federation as a whole is the party's policy, but adds that to preserve unity and maintain goodwill the N.C.N.C. will come to "an understanding" with other political parties.

The Election Manifesto of the Action Group promises efficient and economic administration, abolition of all redundant posts, vigorous Nigerianization and the elimination of graft and nepotism in the Civil Service. It also promises more attractive and stable service conditions for expatriate civil servants in the Region. It will set up an Eastern Co-operative Bank with a capital of not less than £1,000,000. It will also investigate the possibilities of setting up a State Bank for the Federation.

It promises to press for a strong and united Federation, self-government for all Nigeria now, and, in any case, self-government

for the Eastern Region; the creation of the Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers State, and any other states, according to the wishes of the people of any given area; residual powers to be vested in the regions or states, and revenue allocation to be based on derivation, subject to enough funds being made available to the Federal Government. (*News from Nigeria*, February 2 and 13, 1957.)

West Africa (February 23, 1957) commented that the N.C.N.C.'s proposals for self-government were not as detailed as those of the Action Group. . . . "It is most encouraging that the N.C.N.C. has seen the need to include in an election manifesto proposals which, though essential in our view as a guarantee for the Federation and other regions that a self-governing region will not be allowed to sink into chaos, offer a target for political opponents."

Call for Regional Co-operation

The Governor-General of the Federation, Sir James Robertson, in his Speech from the Throne on February 23 urged that co-operation in all spheres was necessary for the development and progress of Nigeria. Co-operation was necessary "between individuals, between tribes, between regions, most important of all, between the Federal and Regional Government. . . ."

Referring to the Constitutional Conference due to be held in London, on May 23, Sir James said important decisions would be taken, "but the future of this country would ultimately depend not on decisions reached in London, but on the acts and upon the attitude of people here in Nigeria".

His Excellency referred to measures taken for financing the Economic programme. Negotiations were in progress with Colonial Development Corporation and preliminary inquiries with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development regarding a loan to meet part of the cost of extending the Nigerian Railway to Bornu. (*News from Nigeria*, March 2, 1957.)

Education and the Future

Mr. Mathew Mbu, Nigeria's Federal Commissioner in the U.K., addressed the Institute of Education in London last week. His subject was "The Role of Education in Nigeria of the Future".

Mr. Mbu said: "What is important is not that we should merely have qualified men to impart knowledge to our youngsters. On you who are preparing to go into the field of education and on all other members of your profession in Nigeria is laid a special and awesome responsibility. The moulding of the minds of generations of Nigerians, and therefore the foundation of the pattern of public and private life, will be to a large extent in your hands. This responsibility rests on teachers all over the world, but in the case of our country it is doubly important; for we are building very quickly a modern nation in rather dangerous times, when the mental balance of an unwary people could be shaken by the blandishments of one political ideology or another, when the ancient rules of our own stable native society are disintegrating and there is not always a corresponding replacement of equally acceptable standards. (*West Africa*, January 19, 1957.)

Devolution of Power in the North

A Government White Paper on the Report of the Commissioner appointed to advise on the devolution of powers to the Province has been laid before the Northern House of Assembly. "It emphasized that 'Native Authorities will in no sense be subordinate to Provincial Administrations', but will work closely with them."

Each administration will consist of (1) a council which shall be deliberative and consultative and shall have power to pass provincial

estimates, initiate the raising of revenue and make by-laws, and (2) a provincial authority acting both as the executive of the council and as the instrument of the Regional Government.

The Resident will be the chairman-executive of the administration and will be known as Provincial Administrator. He will be bound by the majority view of the Provincial Authority in matters allocated to it.

A majority of the members of the council will be chosen "by local government subordinate councils who are themselves popularly chosen". Qualifications for membership will be the same for the Regional House. Government or local government servants, except district or village heads, will not be eligible for election to the councils. (*News from Nigeria*, February 27, 1957.)

Sierra Leone

Report of Commission of Inquiry¹

THE report of the Cox Commission found several of the chiefs guilty of conduct subversive of good government. One of these was the Minister without Portfolio, Paramount Chief Bai Farima Tass. Another, Paramount Chief Alikali Modu, was a member of the Legislative Council and a Government supporter. The principal malpractices alleged included misappropriation of public funds, illegal imposition of special levies, and the use of forced labour on chiefs' farms.

The Government has accepted all the Commission's findings. Chief Bai Farima Tass and Chief Alikali Modu have resigned their chiefdoms and offices; four other paramount chiefs and three sub-chiefs are to be deposed; one paramount chief is required to resign; and two other paramount chiefs have been suspended.

"The findings create a serious political problem for the Government party, the Sierra Leone People's Party, since the chiefs are their powerful supporters and the election approaches. No attempt is made by the Government to cover up for the chiefs, but in its statement accepting the findings, it points out that some of the matters complained of have been common practices of long standing. It says it is determined to prevent victimization in all thirteen chiefdoms of supporters of either side in the disturbances.

Chiefdom committees are to be set up where the chiefs are to be deposed. The Government states its belief in the importance of the chief's role in the development of the country, and both appeals to the country to forget the unhappy past and warns it of the strongest measures against disorderly persons in future. The Governor, Sir Maurice Dorman, characterized last year's disturbances as the most serious instance of people taking the law into their own hands in Africa this century, excepting the Mau Mau. He also emphasized the valuable constitutional precedent set by the prompt resignations of the Minister and member of the Legislative Council. (*The Times*, February 21, 1957.)

Life of Legislative Council Extended

Dr. M. A. S. Margai, the Chief Minister, announced that the Legislative Council would be kept in being until shortly before the General Election in April of a new House of Representatives. He said: "The Government has been concerned about the gap between the dissolution of the Legislative Council, which was due to occur on January 1, and the election of a new Legislature, a gap of more than two months. It is clearly undesirable that the country should be without a Legislature for such a period or that the Government

¹Digest III, 6, 7; IV, 3, 4.

should not be answerable to the House." (*West Africa*, February 9, 1957.)

Gambia

Chiefs' Conference

THE Duke of Edinburgh opened the 14th Conference of Gambia Protectorate Chiefs. Each Chief was presented to the Duke. The opening ceremony was followed by an Agricultural Field Day. During subsequent deliberations emphasis was laid on agriculture and especially rice cultivation. The area of rice cultivation in the country has increased a hundredfold in the last five years. A visiting expert from India is helping to improve rice farming techniques. (*West Africa*, February 23, 1957.)

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES French Africa

Adoption of Constitutional Reforms

AFTER a week of debate in the French Assembly, the decrees arising out of the framework law (*loi cadre*)¹ passed in June 1956 were accepted on a more liberal basis than was originally envisaged. They cover the eight territories of French West Africa and the four territories of French Equatorial Africa. (Madagascar is the thirteenth territory). Each territory is to have an Assembly elected under a commonroll of Europeans and Africans, and a "Council of Government". (*The Times*, February 4, 1957.)

"The Councils of Government, which were originally to include three nominated and five elected members, will instead be entirely elected. Originally they were only to meet with the Provincial Governor in the chair. Now the member elected with most votes will in each case have the title of Vice-President and take the chair if the Governor is absent. He will also advise the Government on the distribution of different branches of administration to his colleagues, and will be empowered to offer a collective resignation on their behalf. Finally, the members of the Councils of Government will have the title of Minister.

"The most important limitation of this reform is the very restricted share of the Government's activity. External relations, defence, security, and justice, as well as many financial and economic matters and higher education, are all reserved to the Central Government acting through the two High Commissioners of West and Equatorial Africa and through the Governors not sitting in Council or Government."

M. Leopold Senghor,² from the Senegal, criticized the Government for not treating F.W.A. and F.E.A. as a whole but working in small, artificial units. M. Houphouët-Boigny, from the Ivory Coast, Minister of State in the French Colonial office and a representative of the African Democratic Rally (R.D.A.), welcomed the new reforms. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 5, 1957.)

The *Spectator* (February 8, 1957) commented: "An important step forward has been taken not only towards local self-government in

French Black Africa, but also towards a remodelling of French constitutional notions. Still more important, perhaps, will be the effect on French political thinking in a more general way. The French gift for general statements, combined with British gifts for empirical invention, combined to give parliamentary democracy its extraordinary importance in the world in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. For some years past there has been a danger of the French gift being used mainly to defend French positions in the world and so to lose its power of advocacy for free political institutions."

Aid to Overseas Territories

In December 1956 the French Assembly voted £66,600,000 for investment in overseas territories. Since 1945, France has allocated £700 millions for this purpose: 50 per cent of this amount was devoted to communications, and 20 per cent to the social services. The remainder was distributed among agriculture, forestry, mining and industry. (*Service de Presse et d'Information*, January 1957.)

Party Conferences

The Overseas Independents (*Independants d'Outre-Mer*) held a conference at Dakar in January 1957 to promote unity among French West African political parties. The conference, presided over by M. Senghor, agreed to set up a new federal party, the "African Convention". It also demanded the revision of the constitution of the Fourth Republic in a federal sense—an aim which, in the view of the conference, could only be realized by the combined action, and fusion, of African parties. It urged the maintenance of French West and Equatorial Africa as federal States, within the framework of a wider French Federation; the granting of a constitution to French Togoland and Cameroons, in accordance with the aspirations of their peoples and the Charter of the United Nations; and a ceasefire in Algeria. . . .

At Conakry, about 200 delegates from most of the territories of French Africa approved the constitution of the new *Mouvement Socialiste Africain* (M.S.A.) which is intended to function as an all French-Africa union of Socialist parties and political organizations. M.S.A., it was agreed, should be autonomous in its relations with the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.), with reciprocal representation on the national executives of the two parties. (*West Africa*, January 26, 1957.)

Franco-German Economic Mission

An economic mission, led by M. Paul Devinat, a former French Minister, and consisting of twelve representatives of Western Germany and, on the French side, six representatives of Ministries and two of the employers' federation, is visiting French Black Africa. It will enable German industrialists to see what possibilities there are for investment and trade. Places to be visited include iron ore deposits in Mauretania, aluminium sites in French Guinea and Cameroons, and the site of a projected barrage in the Ivory Coast. (*The Times*, March 13, 1957.)

The French Cameroons

New Constitution Proposed

THE newly elected Territorial Assembly of the French Cameroons has elected M. Amodou Ahidjo (a Member of the Assembly of the French Union, and leader of the Young Muslim Movement), as its President.¹

¹DIGEST IV, 4.

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

²DIGEST IV, 3 and 4.

A new draft constitution has been published and will be considered by the Assembly. It envisages the continuance, for the time being, of French Trusteeship. There are to be nine Ministers chosen by the Prime Minister, who will himself be appointed by the High Commissioner, after consultation with the political parties. The present Territorial Assembly of seventy members will become the Legislative Assembly, but certain matters are reserved for the French Parliament. In addition to foreign affairs and defence, these include: civil liberties, the monetary system, labour legislation, higher education, the penal code, and part of the public service. Provincial and district administrative officers will be at the same time representatives of the High Commissioner and of the Cameroons Government. (*West Africa*, February 23, 1957.)

Portuguese Africa

Status of Portuguese Territories

THE U.N. Trusteeship Committee discussed whether or not Portugal possessed non-self-governing territories on which it would be expected to submit periodic information to the United Nations under the Charter.

In February 1956 the Secretary-General of the United Nations, sent a letter to sixteen countries asking them whether they administered any territories. So far, all sixteen, except Jordan, Nepal and Spain, from whom no reply has yet been received, answered that they did not have such dependent territories under their jurisdiction.

The debate on Portugal's position in this connexion arose when Mr. Pachachi of Iraq asked the Portuguese delegation to explain the status of its overseas parts, and exactly how they were administered. He pointed out, for instance, that according to official Portuguese information some of the inhabitants of Mozambique were classified as "uncivilized" and he asked the Portuguese delegation whether the status of Portugal's overseas territories differs from that of a European province. It was possible, said Mr. Pachachi, that on "first reaction" a certain government might say that it had no self-governing territory under its jurisdiction, but that "on reflection" it might revise its judgement.

Mr. Nogueira of Portugal told the Committee that his country did not administer territories on which it had to provide information to the U.N. Portugal, he declared, had only one constitution which applied to all the provinces, and that its overseas parts were "absolutely equal" in status to a province in Portugal proper. He explained that his Government had carefully studied its obligations under the Charter and had discharged its responsibilities to the "fullest extent". Mr. Nogueira regretted that the Iraqi delegate seemed to have "singled out" his country and hoped he would realize the impossibility of requiring a country to change fundamental laws. The representative of Iraq replied, at a later meeting, that he was not entirely satisfied with the Portuguese explanation.

Further questions on the status of Portuguese overseas territories—for instance, whether the inhabitants enjoy the same status as Europeans residing in European provinces—were asked by a number of other delegates. Portugal promised to give further explanations. (*U.N. Information Bulletin*, February 5, 1957.)

By a narrow majority the Committee recommended that a small study committee should be set up to report on the general question of principle. But in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly the opponents of this resolution obtained a decision that the resolution would be subject to the two-thirds majority rule. It was defeated on a tie vote of 35 to 35.

Railway Line to West Coast

The railway authorities in Portuguese West Africa have offered to build a railway linking the Central African Federation to the West Coast port of Mossamedes in four years. The matter is being considered by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia since it could mean a short sea route of only 2,600 sea miles to Europe. Such a railway could be particularly useful in handling the trade of Barotseland. (*Central African Post*, January 14, 1957.)

GENERAL

Fabian Conference on Franchise

THE Fabian Colonial Bureau published the findings of a conference on the legislative and electoral structures of East and Central Africa. Unanimity was not achieved, particularly over the compromises to be made during the next few years to meet minority fears of African domination and to cover the period of African political immaturity.

The Basis of Representation: Ultimate Aims

1. We recognize that these are African countries and their political structures must reflect this.
2. The basis of political representation should be the geographical constituency, and there should be no place for special racial or tribal or minority representation.
3. We, therefore, aim at the introduction of a Common Roll.

Interim Compromises

1. The most acceptable modification of Aim (2) above, as a temporary measure, is the common roll multi-member constituency with reserved seats for minorities. Where these are not practicable (for reasons of disparity in the size of the different electorates, etc.), the devices of co-option or nomination might be used to give adequate representation to minorities. We do not favour any extension of the system of communal rolls, though its continuance in areas where it already exists may be inevitable as an interim measure. (Minority opposes.)

The Franchise: Ultimate Aims

1. Universal adult franchise.
2. We oppose the principle of the multiple vote.
3. We are strongly opposed to all forms of qualification or disqualification (such as loyalty tests) which leave the determination of the right to vote at the discretion of the Executive.

Interim Compromises

1. For a limited period we accept some limitation of the principle of universal franchise, for reasons of the difficulties of electoral administration, of political bargaining, or of allowing time for the growth of African political organization. These limitations should be:—(a) A literacy test or educational standard. (b) An income qualification fixed at not less than £50 and such figure nearest above this as is administratively workable. This would not be applicable to Uganda.—(N.B. To the whole of this compromise there was considerable minority opposing all forms of qualification.)

The Composition of the Legislature

1. Whatever may come about in the elections due to take place in 1957 and 1958, we oppose, for elections thereafter, the principle of parity. (A small minority considered that this decision should only apply to Uganda.)
2. In cases where responsible government is not immediately feasible, the British Government should not hand over its power to any element in the territory, but should retain its control; for which

reason it may be necessary to retain an official majority in the Legislative Council. (Minority against last clause.)

3. In the Executive Council an official majority is the necessary corollary of an official majority in the Legislative Council. The Member system is accepted.

4. The question of a Second Chamber was discussed at length, but no general decision was reached. It was agreed to place on record the alternative views expressed, namely a restricted qualitative franchise with a Second Chamber as the check and balance.

General Decisions

1. Citizenship should be based on birth, or residence for a given period, and should involve the taking of an oath of allegiance. Dual nationality should not be allowed.

2. Registration of voters should be automatic wherever it is administratively feasible.

3. Pressure should be brought to bear on territorial governments to provide positive education and propaganda in the purpose and conduct of elections, using every organ of publicity. (*Venture*, February 1957.)

Christianity and Race

The Rev. Hugh Montefiore commenting on *Christianity and Race* by Philip Mason (Lutterworth) said: "What is happening today in South Africa not only runs counter to the Gospel of Christ, but will also jeopardize the Christian Church throughout the whole sub-continent for centuries. Worst of all, it is preventing the coming of the Kingdom of God. . . . The net result has been frustration and unrest among most Non-Europeans, an insult to the natural dignity of man, the denial of basic freedoms, and, in the opinion of many, a betrayal of the Gospel of Christ. Not much good, however, will come from mere denunciation by those who live outside South Africa. Men like Father Huddleston, Michael Scott and Alan Paton have commanded respect precisely because they have 'prophesied' from within the situation, and have suffered the consequences. . . ."

He urged the need for Christians to attempt to change the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church. "Now is the time to do it; for the theological basis of the Afrikaner position seems to have collapsed with the publication in 1956 of the Tomlinson Report, which implied that complete *apartheid* is unattainable in the foreseeable future."

Referring generally to problems in Africa (for information about them he commended the *Africa Digest*), Mr. Montefiore said: "In most British territories where there are white settlers, the professed aim is 'partnership', but at present this means doing things for Africans rather than with Africans. Such a colour bar is an affront to the Christian conscience, despite the genuine fears which underlie it. Yet there are some signs of hope—the Capricorn Africa Society, enterprises like St. Faith's Farm, and recommendations such as those of the Diocesan Synod of Mashonaland." (*The Spectator*, February 15, 1957.)

"Africa Seeks Her Future"

The Colonial Correspondent of *The Times* (January 23, 24, and 25, 1957) described the fascination of the transformation that is taking place all over Africa. He stressed that the former cult of imitation of the European was giving way to an emphasis "on tradition; on the salving of all that is good in the African past, pursued sometimes to extremes in the defence of the indefensible—of ju ju, fetish, and the witchdoctor. . . . In the French colonies it manifests itself in the abandonment of 'assimilation' as a policy by French and African alike. . . ."

"At its worst the trend has dangers. It contains an element of

escapism, of the African turning away from the world and in on himself and his past. At its best, it may lead to a sane synthesis of occidental and African life. Some Europeans are shocked at it. They feel they have a mission to impose Christian civilization on Africa, and they see in the African attitude the negation of this mission. More sensible seems the comment of a highly educated West African woman: 'The Africans are working something out for themselves, if you would only leave them alone to do it'. . . ."

Politically, he found evidence of authoritarian trends among African party leaders, but these might be justified because of the difficult situation they were called upon to face. Economically too there were hazards. "African ministers will be left with complicated machinery to maintain and not much money to lubricate it with. In the circumstances, there would be much to be said for relapsing into a peasant, bush economy. Many of these territories could make a living in this way. Administration would be simplified. A form of social stability such as is apparent in certain parts of Central America and the Caribbean could be sustained.

"Nothing is more distant from the minds of West African leaders than such a retreat from enterprise. On the contrary they are determined to push forward modern industrialization to the top of its capacity. This means, as they fully recognize, the importation of foreign capital, equipment, know-how, and skilled labour. They are prepared to enter into partnership with foreign firms. The question is, what response will they get and from where? . . ."

The Muslim North "from Dakar through Northern Nigeria and Chad to Khartoum and down the east coast to Zanzibar and beyond", though generally "apt to be dismissed as backward", was none the less highly organized. Sheikh Ibrahim Nyas,¹ a powerful marabout (holy man) of the Tidjani sect, who lives in French Senegal, probably has ten million followers in and around Northern Nigeria. However, their education is backward: "In Northern Nigeria only 7 per cent of eligible children go to school. In a great and prosperous emirate like that of Kano, with 3,500,000 inhabitants, only 1.25 per cent. The reason is partly economic and geographical, but it is also due to the obstinacy of the Muslims, who would not admit the Christian missions. The only places in Africa where there have been significant educational advances are where there has been a concentration of Christian missionary effort. . . ."

On the political side the rulers of Northern Nigeria fear lest the British might go before they are ready to run a modern State without the help of southerners in key positions. "They have before them a choice of two courses. They may continue to co-operate with the south in a federal constitution which must eventually become self-governing. In that case they stand a chance of dominating by sheer weight of numbers. Or they may consider the ideological differences and dangers so great that they prefer secession. They have a weak spot in their own pagan minorities, six million strong, to whose aspirations they have hitherto paid far too little attention. . . . The question is, however, more than a Nigerian domestic problem. It embraces French West Africa, the Gold Coast, and the Sudan. Can the southerners hold their own, or make headway, against the Mohammedans? They have on their side modernity—Western education, Western ideas, Western techniques. But, deeply divided by their own tribal conflicts, and lacking any coherent historical background, can they contend with this massive force which has, under its own efforts, reached a state of society approaching early medievalism and is now at last intent on acquiring modern techniques for itself?"

In South Africa the political repression of *apartheid* "is balanced

¹DIGEST IV, 4.

by efforts to improve the lot of the African in other ways. These efforts in some respects far outdo similar ones in British colonies because the Union's economic resources are greater. The South African régime, is, like that of General Franco, likely to endure much longer than its critics care to think. . . ." Central Africa, "committed in theory to a policy of partnership", showed some ambivalence: there were signs of some social mixing of Europeans and Africans, which would not have been possible three years ago. "Most Africans, however, are not unduly impressed by these evidences of Rhodesian liberalism and find the Rhodesian attitude inhibiting" compared with South Africa, where despite political repression they have more economic and educational opportunities.

In the non-British territories, "the Portuguese, alone among colonizing Powers, show no intention of relaxing their grip. Five hundred years ago they were the first to arrive. They may well be the last to leave. They have consolidated their position by assimilation and interbreeding. . . . All the same, the Portuguese cannot entirely escape the changes going on all round them. Well authenticated stories of discontent among the indigenous natives occasionally leak out. Why otherwise is there a significant degree of permanent, as opposed to migratory, movement out of Portuguese territory?"

"Of all the territories, the Belgian Congo is in some ways the most crucial. The trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi must inevitably become a self-governing African state. . . . The authorities contemplate no immediate transfer of power. But it is not so much the timing as the nature of the Congo's political development which deserves study. Will it become one day a purely African state, or will it share in the multi-racial aspect of the territories farther south? . . . There is a school of thought in the Congo which believes that Belgium's stake in the copper, cobalt, and uranium mines could be better secured if the country became a predominantly African state owing allegiance to the Belgian Crown."

The Times Colonial Correspondent summed up his impressions: "In the immediately forthcoming decades the Europeans will tend to dominate in the multi-racial territories. Power factors and the present disparity in practical abilities dictate this pattern. But in the long run the situation must surely reverse itself. The African outnumbered the European overwhelmingly. On current form he has shown himself, when in contact with European influence, capable of unexpectedly rapid advancement. A peaceable *modus vivendi* could be reached provided that the European is content to concede to the African his rightful place in society as he becomes capable of filling it and provided that the African is prepared to wait for it until he is. Unfortunately, this is asking much of human nature. The danger, and a pressing one, is that emotion will outrun reason and conflict forestall adjustment. The policies of the South African Government are calculated to provoke the independent African states farther north to see themselves in the role of champions and liberators of the Bantu peoples farther south."

African Nationalism

Mr. Richard Gray (*New Commonwealth*, January 7th, 1957) said that it was not perhaps too fanciful to imagine a West Indian type of society emerging eventually in Nyasaland. He described the leaders of the African National Congress and continued: "Their policy springs from their attitude to Southern Rhodesia and the Union. To an African, they say, there is really no difference between the two countries: both offer a glitter of material benefits in return for regimentation and the permanent acceptance of an inferior human status. They do not distinguish between the circumstances of the two

countries—above all the difference in their population ratios—which may influence their immediate future. . . .

"It is possible that these leaders could be persuaded to wait patiently in the wings, to watch developments in the Rhodesias, to discuss problems with politicians of all communities in Salisbury, and perhaps eventually, if 'partnership' develops rapidly, to modify their ideas on Federation. What can be stated with certainty is that any attempt to bring Nyasaland more firmly under the control of Salisbury, would evoke a violent reaction, and could easily lead to disaster on such a scale as would make any talk of partnership completely unreal. . . .

"The Congress maintains that its aims are not anti-European: 'By self-government we do not mean that all other races must go. It is not a racial struggle. European traders and missionaries we shall always have; they are necessary. But what is unnecessary is that we should for ever be ruled.' Its ethos, in common with other African nationalist movements, is partly a reaction to racialism and a rejection of it; but the effects of some of their aims and pronouncements are hardly reassuring to Europeans. . . .

"Federation is estimated to have almost doubled the country's income, it has dramatically increased expenditure on medical services and roads, and the Rhodesian Selection Trust has loaned £1 million for African education. Congress leaders are interested in the possibilities of schemes for rural development—and here their energies might combine very fruitfully in partnership with the administration or even a private company—but they are suspicious of industrialization, claiming that rapid economic exploitation has too often brought unhappiness to Africans. Above all they repudiate any idea that economic advance could ever compensate for the loss of political and social progress; it is an urgent task to demonstrate and convince them and their followers that the one need not eventually involve the other."

All-Africa Trade Union Conference

The first African Regional Conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was held in Accra. There were delegates from twenty countries in Africa including all British dependent territories. There were observers from Egypt, Liberia and the Sudan, guest delegations from the Asian, American, Caribbean and European branches of the I.C.F.T.U. and a large United States delegation. There were no delegates from Portuguese Africa, Southern Rhodesia or the Union of South Africa. The conference aimed to set up three Regional organizations for Africa: one for the West in Accra, one for the North in either Tunisia or Morocco; and one for the East and Central area in Nairobi.

In his opening address, Dr. Nkrumah said: "It is essential that trade union movements throughout the world understand and take into account the political and economic developments which are taking place in Africa. . . . The trade union movement has a great part to play and a far wider task to perform than merely the safeguarding of the conditions and wages of its members. . . . Trade unions in Africa are expected to play an active part in the struggle against colonialism. They must work for the ultimate political freedom and emancipation of their territories."

The I.C.F.T.U. has a paid-up membership of over one million in Africa, over half of it in North Africa.

The conference adopted a manifesto stating that African labour movements must unite and form the spearhead of the struggle for emancipation of the African peoples from colonialism and dictatorship. It also adopted a declaration of rights calling on African workers to stand solidly: for the right to organize free trade unions,

against labour legislation without prior consultation with workers, for the right to equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex, race, colour, or creed, for a maximum 40-hour week, and for free medical facilities. (*West Africa*, January 26, 1957.)

Need for Commonwealth Development

Sir Albert Braithwaite, M.P., urged the need for a Commonwealth Development Council, on which all member states could be represented. The Council should decide "priorities" and be empowered to raise money. He considered that in the next ten years £3,000 million would be needed. Sir Albert said: "Britain cannot at the moment carry this load by itself. I think we must have some Commonwealth participation in the responsibility for this work and this finance. I want us to be able to go out and borrow money. I want the Commonwealth Governments to stand behind that borrowing with a guarantee of interest. A guarantee from the Commonwealth of £50 million might be quite sufficient for us to raise on world markets the necessary capital." (*Daily Mirror*, February 15, 1957.)

The Australian Minister of Labour, Mr. Holt, also called for a Commonwealth plan to make the best use of the resources of member countries. This, he said, was linked with immigration. In addition to Australia and Canada, Rhodesia, Kenya, and other British countries in Africa would welcome the kind of development which increased British emigration, and the additional capital it would provide. (*The Times*, January 23, 1957.)

Linking Africa With Common Market

Six countries, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Belgium and Luxembourg agreed, as part of their discussions on a common market, to a common "Eurafican" policy. Over a period of five years they will invest £207 million in the colonial areas in Africa for which they are responsible.

In return for securing these investments, France will progressively throw open her overseas markets to the others. Tariffs and quota restrictions in France's colonial possessions are to be lowered gradually over a period of fifteen years in favour of her partners, and, simultaneously, tariffs are to be raised against colonial products entering the common market from outside. This means, in effect, against British and Portuguese colonial territories.

Mr. M. Faure, Minister of State at the French Foreign Office, said that France's desire to include her overseas territories in the common market area was political rather than economic. . . . France hoped that the association would bring the political benefits of increasing the stability of her African possessions by linking their destiny to that of Western Europe. (*The Times*, February 22, 1957.)

The independent German newspaper, *Die Welt* (January 1957), said that: "West Germany should be wary of Franco-Belgian proposals that European countries should jointly develop Africa. . . . Can the peoples of Africa be expected to regard such an undertaking really as a European-African partnership? Or will they condemn it as a participation of Germans in dying colonialism?"

Susan Strange, the economic correspondent of *The Observer* (February 24, 1957), referring to Britain's intention of joining in the Free Trade area which is associated with the Common Market itself and the difficulties which now arise from the introduction of colonial territories into the "Common Market" scheme, said: "The British

Government is faced with the choice, apparently, of either going ahead with its plans to associate with the Common Market, even though this will involve discrimination against our colonial exports, or of risking a final break with the whole one-world idea behind the GATT rules by asking for similar preferences to be given to British colonies. The only other visible alternative would be to ask the French Government to revise the agreement. . . .

"The Government has long made it clear to its European partners that it was afraid the position of colonial territories would cause snags in the British association with the Common Market, and that it would much prefer a start to be made first on the broad agreement, leaving the colonial problems till later."

Government Not to Invest in African Coal

The British Government has declined to finance the development of African coal for import into the U.K. The inter-departmental committee set up to investigate the coal resources of British Africa said: "In view of transport costs and differences in quality, it does not appear likely that these African coals would be competitive here with American coal. Still less does there appear any prospect of African coal being brought here at a price comparable with that at which our own coal can be produced. . . .

"As, however, possible markets for African coal are not confined to this country, it is intended to bring to the attention of the Commonwealth and Colonial Governments concerned the possibilities of these other markets. It is also intended to inform other European Governments of the potential supplies available in Commonwealth territories in Africa." (*Manchester Guardian*, February 26, 1957.)

Subsequently, Mr. C. W. Dumbleton of the Colonial Development Corporation, pointed out that the quality of the coal recently surveyed in Tanganyika compared favourably with existing supplies.

Self-Government in Trust Territories

The United Nations General Assembly adopted, by 44 votes to 14 with 17 abstentions, a resolution recommending that Britain, France and Belgium set dates for the achievement of self-government or independence of trust territories under their administration. The opposition of the Western Powers succeeded in killing one clause which would have declared as the United Nations conviction that "most trust territories are fully capable of attaining self-government or independence in the near future".

The Assembly also adopted a resolution recommending that Britain consider making a statement on the policy it proposes to follow in Tanganyika and specifically state that it will guide the territory toward self-determination or independence as a democratic state in which all inhabitants have equal rights. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 28, 1957.)

Religions in Africa

Monseigneur Bressoles told the Academy of Political and Moral Sciences in Paris, that of the 130 million inhabitants of Black Africa he estimated that 28,000,000 were now Moslems, 13,000,000 Catholics, 4,000,000 Protestants, and 85,000,000 still pagan. In the whole of Africa, including Egypt and the North, he estimated that between 1931 and 1951 the number of Moslems had increased from 40 millions to 80 millions. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 16, 1957.)

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

THE Chairman and the Director attended the Ghana Independence Celebrations in Accra as guests of the Government. During his stay the Rev. Michael Scott was invited to preach in the Cathedral. He also addressed a public meeting and broadcast.

On South African questions, a background paper on the introduction of *apartheid* into the nursing profession (see p. 164) has been circulated to Africa Councils and other interested groups. At the request of people in South Africa this issue has been raised with nursing organizations in this country.

The campaign to arouse interest in the threat to university freedom in South Africa has been maintained and contact is being made with universities in European countries.

Material on the bus boycott in Johannesburg has been supplied to several weekly papers in London.

The Africa Bureau was represented on the platform at the Christian Action meeting addressed by Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., Fr. Huddleston and others. Funds were raised for the Christian Action Treason Defence Appeal. (See p. 162.)

The series of recitals given on behalf of the Bureau by Miss Harriet Cohen has been completed. These concerts have been greatly appreciated. The work of the Bureau was described to the audience in Cambridge by Lord Hemingford, in Oxford by Sir Maurice Bowra, and in London by Lady Pakenham.

Pictorial maps of St. Faith's Mission Farm, whose work is described in *Partnership in Practice* (price 1s. 6d. from the Bureau), are now on sale at 2s. each for display purposes (size 23 in. × 30 in.). The various activities of the farm, clinic and mission are delightfully illustrated.

New Africa Bureau publications are advertised on p. 176. A striking banner advertising the AFRICA DIGEST has been given by Mr. F. H. K. Henrion, M.B.E., the well-known industrial designer.

We are most grateful to those readers of the AFRICA DIGEST who replied to the questionnaire asking for opinions about the content and layout, and for suggestions of possible new subscribers.

While a number of readers suggested that articles or "editorials" should be included, others urged strongly that there should be no departure from the practice of using material already published. In a similar way other suggestions, e.g. about the length of extracts, often cancelled each other out. A gratifying number of replies expressed satisfaction with the DIGEST in its present form. Two suggestions will be immediately adopted, namely that of attempting to give more information about non-British territories in Africa, and of keeping the same order of territories in each issue to facilitate reference.

We shall always be pleased to receive readers' comments and suggestions for improving the AFRICA DIGEST.

